MEXICAN SPANISH IN HOUSTON, TEXAS: A STUDY OF LANGUAGE CONTACT AND ITS EFFECTS ON OVERT SUBJECT PRONOUNS

BY

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This work is dedicated to the two most important men in my life: my husband, Ray, and my son, Blair Austin. Their patience, understanding, support and ability to withstand neglect allowed me to make my dream come true.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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This research brings together the linguistic disciplines of language contact, bilingualism, first and second language acquisition and theoretical syntax. Following the footsteps of Silva-Corvalán, whose work was carried out in Los Angeles, California, this project examines the effects of English on the several characteristics of the Pro-drop Parameter in the Spanish of the Mexican/Mexican-American community of Houston, Texas. Three groups of individuals participated in the study (monolingual Spanish speakers, Spanish-dominant and English-dominant bilinguals) to determine what effects, if any, prolonged contact and increased ability in English have had on the spoken language of these respondents. Written questionnaires tested the grammaticality/acceptability judgments and use patterns of these individuals regarding redundant overt subject pronouns and subject-verb inversion in

declarative sentences. Recorded interviews were also conducted in order to ascertain whether the speech of these informants reflected the data of the questionnaires. Qualitative and statistical tests were conducted on the gathered data in order to determine the degree of significance of their responses. The results of the study lead to the conclusion that it is the initial acquisition of English and not increased proficiency therein, which causes the increase in appearance of redundant overt subject pronouns in the Spanish spoken by the bilinguals in the studied population. However, the results also indicate that a decrease in the use of subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences correlates positively with increased proficiency in English. In other words, as we move across the generational continuum (from monolingual to Spanish-dominant to English-dominant bilingual speakers), use of postposed subjects decreases. This provides empirical evidence in support of Safir's (1986) assertion that the two characteristics that have been considered the core of the **pro**-drop parameter are in fact two separate parameters.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Numerous linguists have undertaken descriptive studies of the many varieties of Spanish found in the United States. For example, the speech of the New York Puerto Rican community has been studied by Alvarez (1989), Guitart (1981a), Poplack (1986), Torres (1989), and Zentella (1982); the Los Angeles Chicano community has been studied by Gutiérrez (1991, 1989), Ocampo (1990) and Silva-Corvalán (1989, 1986a); the Cuban community of Miami has been analyzed by Bjarkman (1989), Clegg & Fails (1987), Fails (1985), Guitart (1986; 1985a; 1985b; 1981b), Hammond (1989; 1986), Lipski (1991), C.A. Solé (1979), and Y.R. Solé (1987); and the Spanish dialects of the Southwest have been described and analyzed by Amastae (1982), Barkin (1982), Bills (1989), Bills and Ornstein (1976), Espinosa (1930), Espinosa (1977-8), Espinosa and Espinosa (1985), Floyd (1983, 1982a, 1982b, 1980), Hensey (1976), Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1982), Lope Blanch (1987, 1982), Lozano (1974), Ornstein (1982), and Ornstein-Galicia (1981).

The gradual cross-generational shift toward English has resulted in a bilingual continuum which has created a series

of Spanish variants which have recently become the focus of numerous studies. In keeping with this interest, my study concentrates on second and third generation[1] adult bilingual Mexican-American speakers living in Houston, Texas, in order to evaluate what influence, if any, contact with English has had on the spoken Spanish of these individuals. This study does not investigate the usage of idiomatic borrowings, loanwords or calques nor does it analyze code-switching, but concentrates on more subtle syntactic transfer such as the increased use of subject pronouns in situations where they are either completely absent from or infrequent in the speech of monolingual Spanish speakers, except in special circumstances. Monolingual Spanish speakers tend to avoid overt subject pronouns once the subject has been established within the discourse since the grammar of Spanish does not require every sentence to have an overt subject the way English does. These overt, or redundant, subject pronouns are normally construed as focused or stressed, thereby receiving contrastive emphasis. Because overt subject pronouns in Spanish usually have this special contrastive function, they create a "heaviness" which native speakers often feel upon hearing an abundance of subject pronouns. This is not merely a stylistic difference amongst speakers, but rather may correspond to differences in syntactic structure (Cf. Lipski 1991). The absence of overt subjects is coupled with other linguistic characteristics into what has come to be termed the "**Pro**-drop

Parameter". Much work has been done within the Government and Binding framework which demonstrates that Spanish (like Italian) is a **pro**-drop language, allowing superficial missing subjects, while English (like French) is not, thereby requiring that every sentence have an overt subject (Cf. Burzio 1986; Chomsky 1981; Jaeggli 1982; Rizzi 1982).

Silva-Corvalán (1989, 1986a) and Gutiérrez (1991, 1989) have apparently observed a trend in the bilingual Spanish-speaking Chicanos of Los Angeles wherein the frequency of use of ordinarily optional overt subject pronouns is increasing in syntactic environments where previously these were either missing or optional. Silva-Corvalán (1989; 1982) is unsure whether this trend is due to the influence of English or if there are language-internal factors at work, so that further studies are needed. Although the main focus of my study is to determine whether second- and third-generation bilingual speakers in the Mexican/Mexican-American community of Houston are developing the trend toward the use of overt subject pronouns (as has already been observed in other Spanish-speaking communities) where in standard monolingual Mexican Spanish they are either optional or redundant, it will also provide additional empirical evidence with which to help determine the motivation(s) of this trend.

There are two reasons for choosing to investigate the Mexican-American Spanish-speaking community of Houston. First, Mexican Spanish (and thereby Mexican-American Spanish)

is a phonologically conservative dialect. This characteristic is helpful in determining the effect of language contact and the influence of English on this variety of Spanish because it decreases the role which the language-internal factors (such as the erosion or loss of verb-final morphology) discussed by Silva-Corvalán (1982) play in the linguistic changes being experienced by the Houston community. This fact also strengthens the point of view that language contact can/does indeed instigate, or at least hasten, syntactic changes in the minority language through the transfer of syntactic structures which are present in the majority language but are either absent from or different in the minority language.[2] Second, although other studies have been carried out on a variety of Spanish dialects across the United States, the language community of Houston, Texas, and the bilingual speakers therein, have been neglected thus far even though they are among the most numerous populations of contact Spanish speakers in the state of Texas, a state having one of the highest concentrations of Spanish speakers in the country.[3] In spite of their numbers, this abundant source of linguistic data has remained untapped. If we are to gain a better understanding of Spanish as it exists in the United States, and more particularly the Southwest, and the changes that can be brought about by prolonged exposure to English, it is essential that this population be investigated.

The central hypothesis of my investigation of this particular language contact situation and the effect of this contact on the content of the subject NP in the Spanish of these Mexican/ Mexican-American speakers is that as the speaker's English ability increases due to contact with this language, the use of subject pronouns increases in environments where they are missing or optional in the Spanish of the Mexican monolinguals living in the same geographical region. In other words, there is a positive correlation between the speaker's decreasing ability in Spanish and the increased appearance of obligatory subject pronouns in his/her Spanish which can be attributed to his/her superior ability in English. As the speaker's ability in Spanish becomes more precarious, the spoken Spanish experiences an increase in the use of certain structures such as obligatory overt subjects in environments where they are absent from the speech of monolingual Mexican Spanish speakers. I expected to demonstrate a correlation between the degree of fluency in Spanish/English and the presence of overt subjects. However, one must not overlook the fact that pro-drop in Spanish is in principle optional, except in the case of obligatorily null expletive subjects. My ultimate goal was to show that the parameter associated with this particular trait is in the process of being reset, or at least showing a trend in that direction.[4]

While the qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data gathered during the investigation do not lend support to the hypothesis as originally stated, there is sufficient evidence to propose a modified version thereof. Although the data do not show a positive correlation between increased English ability and an increased appearance of redundant overt subject pronouns in the spoken Spanish as one moves across the generational continuum (from monolinguals to English-dominant bilinguals). However, the responses provided by the participants' questionnaires and tape recorded interviews indicate that it is the initial acquisition of English, and not an increased proficiency therein, which causes bilingual Spanish-English speakers to employ a higher number of redundant overt subject pronouns in environments where they are absent from the speech of monolingual Spanish speakers.

In addition, the results of this study provide empirical evidence in support of those, who like Safir (1986), posit that subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences is not part of the **pro**-drop parameter, but a separate characteristic. The responses provided by the three groups of informants conclusively demonstrate that the use of postposed subjects in declarative sentences decreases in direct correlation with the increase in English proficiency. The fact that there is a positive correlation between increased English ability and diminished use of subject-verb inversion while the same trend is not indicated by the data regarding redundant overt pronoun

usage, provides positive proof that the two traits are not part of the same parameter.

The use of overt versus null subject pronouns among Spanish-English Cuban-American bilinguals indicates that while there is no resetting of a "unified" **pro**-drop parameter taking place, the syntactic and referential properties which separate null and overt subject pronouns may be gradually converging, especially when the balance tilts in the direction of English. In these cases, bilinguals' usage of overt subject pronouns follows English use more closely, although never converging completely (Lipski 1991)[5]. Following this line of thought, and assuming that the same process which has been observed in bilingual Cuban-Americans is applicable to bilingual Mexican-Americans, then the phenomenon that we are observing in this investigation is the beginning stage of the resetting of the **pro**-drop parameter in the underlying grammar of these speakers. This, then, is a study of a change in progress which makes additional work within the population sometime in the future a desirable option.

Although it may be true that changes in the **pro**-drop parameter or portions thereof may not become evident until a critical amount of time has elapsed, Weinreich (1966:103) states that an attractive opportunity for short-term diachronic observation is offered by languages in contact. Thus, the data gathered not only allows for comparative studies between this speech community and similar ones across

the United States which are being or have been investigated by other linguists but also provides an opportunity to return to the community at a later date and record the "contact-induced progressive changes" (Weinreich 1966:103). After all, any theory of language change, at the very least would assert that every language constantly undergoes alteration. Most linguists acknowledge evidence that has demonstrated that "language change is a continuous process and the inevitable by-product of linguistic interaction" (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968:150).

Before describing the present research project, it is useful to briefly survey the main facets of contemporary linguistic theory which form the underpinnings of this study. In particular, I am investigating how the prolonged contact between the two languages has affected and continues affecting subject pronoun usage in the Spanish of these Mexican-American bilinguals. To this end, the remainder of Chapter 1 is dedicated to the discussion of bilingualism, language contact and language maintenance, shift, attrition and death. Chapter 2 deals with syntactic theory as it relates to the subject position and the **Pro**-drop Parameter, including the properties of **pro**-drop languages, the nature of null subjects, Spanish **pro**-drop specifically, Universal Grammar (UG) and second language acquisition (SLA), including parametric theory and viewpoints relating to negative evidence. The availability of UG in SLA and the relationship between pro-drop and SLA

(parameter resetting and transfer errors) are also included in the discussion. Chapter 3 is a review of the literature regarding studies dealing with syntactic changes in Spanish induced by contact with English in bilingual populations across the United States. Because my work is within the Mexican community, a study of the monolingual Spanish of Michoacán, Mexico, is also included in order to establish the standard characteristics of the dialect. The final two chapters describe my project. Chapter 4 concentrates on the research methodology employed, the data gathered, the results of both the qualitative and statistical analyses while Chapter 5 presents the conclusions reached and proposes future research projects suggested by the results of the present study.

The empirical evidence gathered during the investigation can be used as the basis for tracking the trend in overt pronominal usage in the Spanish of these bilingual speakers. The fact that this is a study of change in progress leaves the door open for continued work within the same population as well as for comparative work with similar Spanish-speaking communities across the United States.

1.2 Bilingualism

1.2.1 Definition of Bilingualism, General Views and Explanations of the Process

The study of the behavior of bilingual groups and individuals requires going beyond many of the concepts and techniques that have been designed for and employed in the

description of monolingual competence. It is possible for a bilingual individual to be fluent in both languages taken together without being able to function like a monolingual in either language on its own. This means that the bilingual's system is **different** in some respects from that of the monolingual. In other words, a reasonable account of bilingualism cannot be based on a theory that assumes monolingual competence as its frame of reference. Although many processes encountered in bilingualism have a counterpart in monolingualism, the bilingual's perceptual and production norms differ from those of the monolingual (Romaine 1989).

The history of languages is replete with examples of various forms of bilingualism resulting from language contact. Although it is true that today most countries house a number of different languages, which automatically leads to language contact and may also lead to bilingualism, two factors modify the situation somewhat. The first is that some languages are numerically more prominent than others; the second is that some languages are spoken natively in several countries while others are restricted to very specific areas that correspond either to the political boundaries of a country or to a particular geographic region. The kind of language concentration that is found in most of the world today cannot help but lead to bilingualism (Grosjean 1982; Mackey 1967) and yet this is not always the case as proven by the fact that few Canadians outside of Quebec are even marginally bilingual and

surprisingly few Swiss speak more than one of the four national languages well.

Amongst linguists, bilingualism has often been defined and described by means of categories, scales and dichotomies such as ideal vs. partial bilingualism, coordinate vs. compound bilingualism, all of which are related to factors such as proficiency and function. Bloomfield (1933:56) uses the term "native-like control of two or more languages" whereas Haugen (1953) observes that bilingualism begins when the speaker of one language can produce meaningful utterances in the second. A minimal definition is given by Diebold (1964) when he characterizes the initial stages of contact between two languages as "incipient bilingualism". Although Diebold's definition allows for "passive" or "receptive" bilingualism, it has the disadvantage of allowing for the inclusion of just about everyone who knows even a few words in another language (Romaine 1989). Macnamara (1969) proposes that somebody should be called bilingual if s/he possesses second language skills in one of the four modalities (speaking, listening, writing and reading) in addition to first language skills. However, Weinreich's (1953:5) explanation that "the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called bilingualism and the persons involved bilinguals" still remains a viable one today. Somebody who regularly uses two or more languages in alternation is a bilingual (Appel & Muysken 1987).

Hakuta (1986) believes that the field of study should deal not only with the bilingual individual but with the circumstances surrounding the creation of bilingualism, its maintenance and attrition. Romaine (1989) follows Mackey (1968) in considering bilingualism as simply the alternate use of two or more languages and subsumes multilingualism under the same term.

Two possible consequences of bilingualism are that it is either maintained within the group for a lengthy period of time (prolonged bilingualism such as in Belgium, Canada and Paraguay) or the group returns to a state of monolingualism (such as the situation in many nations that belonged to the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires where the languages of colonizers were never adopted by the colonized) (Grosjean 1982). Mackey (1968) observes that as long as different monolingual communities exist, there is a likelihood of contact between them which results in bilingualism. He adds that a self-sufficient bilingual community has no reason to remain bilingual since a closed community in which everyone is fluent in two languages can just as easily function with only one.

Bilingualism can also create a new, third language which has characteristics of each of both the original languages in contact. A jargon occurs when one of the language groups begins using as a **lingua franca** a simplified form of the other's language and inserting therein some features of its own language. If less reduction is present, a koine is

created. When this "new" language develops lexically and grammatically and is passed on to the next generation as the mother tongue, creolization has occurred (Grosjean 1982). However, there are those, like Bickerton (1975), who claim that lexical and grammatical development occur only during creolization and not before.

1.2.1.1 The coordinate-compound-subordinate distinction

Weinreich's (1966) main concern is the **acquisition** of bilingualism and he proposes three types. The coordinate bilingual keeps the words of the two languages completely separate; there are two sets of meaning units and two modes of expression. The compound bilingual knows a word in each language but has one common meaning for both; there is one set of meaning units and two modes of expression. The subordinate bilingual interprets the words of the weaker language through the words of the stronger language; the meaning units exist in the first language and there are two modes of expression, that of the first language and that of the second which is learned by means of the first.

Ervin and Osgood (1954) merge Weinreich's compound and subordinate bilinguals under the term **compound**. They emphasize **how** the bilingual became either coordinate or compound. According to Ervin and Osgood, coordinate bilingualism is developed by experiencing the languages in different contexts where the two are rarely interchanged (for example, one at home and one either at school or at work),

while compound bilingualism is developed by experiencing the languages in fused contexts where the two are continuously interchanged (such as in formal language classes or continual switching from one language to the other). Whereas Weinreich involves all aspects of language (including phonology, lexicon and syntax) in his distinction, Ervin and Osgood stress the lexicon.

Due to contradictory results (Cf. Jakobovits and Lambert 1961; Lambert, Havelka, and Crosby 1958, on the one hand, and Kolers 1963; Lambert and Moore 1966; Olton 1960, on the other), researchers reassessed the hypotheses and the coordinate-compound distinction fell into disfavor among linguists and psycholinguists. One of the questions that emerged from the research is whether it is possible to have a totally coordinate bilingual. López (1977) observes that some words in a bilingual's two vocabularies have identical meanings, others have quite similar meanings, and still others have different meanings. Totally different cultures have words that refer to similar concepts; otherwise translation between languages would be an impossible task. It is probably the case that a bilingual can never be totally coordinate or totally compound, a point that Weinreich himself makes (Grosjean 1982). In fact, it is much more likely that completely compound or coordinate bilingualism are the end points of a continuum on which an individual bilingual can be rated. The language system of a bilingual may be more

compound in some areas (the lexicon) and more coordinate in others (the grammar). However, these rather intuitive ideas still require additional empirical verification (Appel & Muysken 1987). Aspects of bilingual behavior, such as fluency and dominance, are neither static nor fixed, but develop in different ways over time, depending on individual experiences (Romaine 1989).[6] Perecman (1984) proposes the use of the terms compound and coordinate to refer to alternative **strategies** for using more than one language rather than to describe the structural difference in how multiple languages are wired to the brain.

1.2.1.2 One lexicon or two?

For many years researchers have given considerable attention to the bilingual's internal dictionary or lexicon. It is well known that monolinguals possess a rather extensive lexicon in which can be found entries for individual lexical items. However, do bilinguals have one lexicon or two? Investigators are far from being in agreement.

A compromise between the proponents of the one-lexicon hypothesis (Caramazza and Brones 1980; Kolers 1966) and those who propose two lexicons (Taylor 1971) can be found in the work of Paradis (1978) wherein the bilingual has a language store for each of his two languages, each of which is differentially connected to the conceptual store. With his model, Paradis accounts for some of the contradictory results found in the research literature and presents an option for

the resolution of whether the bilingual operates with one or two lexicons.

1.2.1.3 Complementation

Complementation is an attempt to replace coordination, which some consider a rather extreme and much too idealistic concept, as the explanation of language influence and systematic overlap of linguistic structures in the speech of natural bilinguals. Wolck (1988) interrelates complementation with Weinreich's concept of interference to which he also adds a process called fusion.

The concept of complementation has been elaborated on the basis of investigations of natural bilingual contact situations because Wolck (1988) feels that most treatments of bilingualism seldom state explicitly the distinction between natural and artificial situations of language acquisition. The distribution of domains of usage across the bilingual individual's two languages, or conversely, the division of the two languages by or into domains of usage must be considered, not only for individuals but for bilingual communities as well. All bilinguals describe certain situations (domains) more easily in one language than in the other. The natural bilingual prefers one language over the other in a number of domains but usually there are a large number of contexts for which either language is equally appropriate. Therefore, for most bilinguals in natural situations, the distribution of their languages and their language capacities between domains

of expression can be thought of as intersecting spheres, with the non-intersecting portion of each sphere representing the contextual domains reserved or preferred for one language and the overlapping area symbolizing those domains where either language is appropriate. Wolck (1988) proposes that his schematization more realistically represents bilingual behavior than Ervin and Osgood's coordination schema which implies the possibility of completely non-intersecting spheres. In addition, it adequately covers the situation of the simultaneous (native) bilingual, the natural consecutive bilingual, the acculturated immigrant and that of any national ethnolinguistic minority.

The main difference between Weinreich's (1953) compounding process containing two meaning-sets (mediation processes for Ervin and Osgood 1954) and the process of subordination-interference (which is seen as the unidirectional influence of one language system upon the other), is that in the latter, there exists bi-directionality in the influence between the two languages, the fusion or near-fusion of the mediation processes of the two languages into one and the close approximation of the linguistic expressions in the two languages. A significant aspect of fusion, as Wolck (1988) perceives it, is the restructuring of **both** languages that are in contact and not simply of one of them. The end point is the ultimate merging (fusing) of the

two systems into one; that is, the creation of an entirely new variety or intermediate system.[7]

1.2.1.4 Interlanguage and bilingualism

The analysis of errors made by language learners has led to the proposal that as the learner acquires a second language, s/he passes through various language stages or systems before acquiring the system of the native speaker (Cf. Corder 1967; Nemser 1971; Richards 1972; Selinker 1972). Selinker (1972) coined the term interlanguage (IL) which he defines as a separate language system which is observable in the output of a learner attempting to produce the target language norm. The evidence for the IL concept comes from the study and analysis of errors made by learners which cannot be attributed to either the first or the target language and, therefore, must have their source in an intermediate system. Once the target language has been learned, the individual has a language system similar to that of a native speaker and has become a bilingual with two native-like language systems (Grosjean 1982; Selinker 1972).

However, sometimes a speaker realizes that s/he knows the language well enough to communicate. Upon reaching the desired level of fluency, the individual stops learning and the IL becomes fossilized. An entirely fossilized IL competence is a result of a speaker's realization that the communicative goal has been achieved (Selinker 1972). Both Selinker (1972) and Richards (1972) observe that a fossilized

IL can become the recognized language variety of a group of people, such as that of established immigrant groups (Cf. Clyne 1967, 1972; Haugen 1953).

1.2.1.5 Norms and varieties in bilingual communities

Monolingual speakers entering bilingual communities are often surprised by the amount of borrowing and switching that takes place. Both lexical borrowing and code-switching at the level of the bilingual community are an integral part of the language variety that an individual bilingual community develops. What the monolingual speakers fail to understand is that both of these processes are simply the result of the bilinguals' intent when communicating with one another. This pattern is found in the Southwestern U.S. where a continuum ranging from Standard Spanish to Standard English can be found in Spanish-English bilinguals (Cf. Elías-Olivares 1976). Within this continuum can be found Español Mixtureado (also referred to as Pocho or Tex-Mex) which consists of a Spanish base with many English borrowings and code-switches. It is used mainly by the young who are competent in English and use it not only for the purpose of communication but as an ideological statement as well (Grosjean 1982). Wolck's (1988) "ambilingual" is an apt description of these individuals. He applies this term to those bilinguals who manage equally well in two languages but who allow their expressive capacity in certain domains of experience to be better in one than in the other. Ambilinguals can be members of bilingual communities

without access to monolingual norms as well as educated speakers with knowledge and awareness of norms and with a capacity for separating their two languages. Although Wolck acknowledges that most ambilinguals are native bilinguals who grew up with two simultaneous mother tongues, ambilingualism can also be the end result of consecutive language acquisition.

At the societal level, unless a community values bilingualism and provides conditions to support the development and maintenance of bilingual competence, bilingualism can be considered a handicap (Romaine 1989). Language competence is a skill having a market value that determines who will acquire it.[8] This being the case, languages should be thought of as natural resources which can either be squandered or protected. As such, languages under threat, like endangered species, can die if they are not properly protected (Romaine 1989).

1.2.2 Childhood and Adolescent Bilingualism

While attempting to achieve communicative competence, the monolingual child is faced with the multifaceted nature of language. In order to generate appropriate linguistic performances, s/he must determine the underlying systems of rules from relevant data in the environment. With seemingly little systematic effort on the part of the parents, the child develops a significant portion of linguistic and social interaction competency within the first four or five years of

life. In addition to being able to understand and produce phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically complex forms of language, the monolingual child is also capable of code switches or shifts which serve to further clarify his/her speech production and understanding of social interactions (García 1983).

Therefore, any definition which is adopted for the empirical or theoretical treatment of bilingualism, must not only address its built-in linguistic diversity but must also consider cognitive and social parameters. After all, languages are acquired and achieve maturity and use within definite social contexts (García 1983).

1.2.2.1 Early childhood bilingualism defined

The term early childhood bilingualism often refers to the simultaneous acquisition of two (or more) languages during the first five years of life and has also been called "bilingualism as a first language" (Swain 1972).[9] The idealized definition is that the child is able to function in two languages at some level of social interaction prior to the age of five (García 1983; Romaine 1989).[10] What must be kept in mind is that children have such language-learning capacities that they are able to acquire two languages simultaneously without experiencing any real problem (Appel & Muysken 1987).

1.2.2.2 Bilingual acquisition and transfer

Language transfer, which is the interactive influence of acquiring two languages across receptive and expressive domains, is an important issue related to early childhood development. Within this context, García (1983) defines it as the influence of the acquisition and use of one language on the acquisition and use of the other in the bilingual child. He also stresses the importance of indicating that transfer can act both positively and negatively; that is, language acquisition in one language can either be enhanced or diminished by acquisition and use of a second language.[11]

Another important factor affecting the outcome of any attempt to raise a child bilingually is the responsiveness of the child and family, as well as that of the extended family, the school and society towards bilingualism (Romaine 1989). The acquisition pattern of the child plays a role in the amount of cross-linguistic influence. However, almost all researchers agree that the child has only one lexical system in the early stages (Romaine 1989). Fantini (1985) speaks of a gradual process of separation rather than interference in cases where the languages appear fused in the beginning. Thus, what has been called interference may, in fact, be incomplete acquisition. But there are those who consider the child to be truly bilingual only at the stage where there is separation of the two systems (Cf. Arnberg and Arnberg 1985; Leopold 1954).

The developmental sequence for bilingual children is the same in many respects as for the monolingual. Bilingual children seem to pass through the same developmental milestones in much the same order and way in both their languages as monolinguals do in their respective languages, thereby lending support to those, like Chomsky (1981), who attribute a large innate component to language acquisition. Even when the onset of acquisition is delayed in bilinguals, these children make up for the time lost but pass through the same developments in both languages simultaneously (Appel and Muysken 1987; Romaine 1989) (See also Arnberg and Arnberg 1985; Bizzarri 1977; Calasso and Garau 1976).

1.2.3 Post-Adolescent Bilingualism

People possess implicit knowledge of the language(s) they speak and/or understand; in other words, they have more or less internalized the language. Generally, bilinguals keep their languages separate in language processing (speaking and understanding) (Appel & Muysken 1987). Although Penfield and Roberts (1959) proposed the **single-switch** theory as the method by which the bilingual separates production and reception of the two languages, findings are in agreement with the observation that bilinguals are quite capable of speaking one language while listening to someone else speak in another (Appel & Muysken 1987). Based on the result of the bilingual Stroop tests, two switches were proposed whereby the speaker is in control of the output switch (by deliberately choosing

a certain language) but cannot control the input switch in the same way since the speaker is not able to filter out a distracting language (Macnamara 1967). Therefore, the input switch is data driven, i.e., the language signal from the outside operates the switch, regardless of the wishes of the bilingual speaker. However, this two-switch model was then seriously questioned on the basis of natural code-switching in bilinguals and additional research results (i.e., Chan et al. 1983). This, in turn, supported Paradis's contention that bilinguals do not use a special switching mechanism different from that employed by monolinguals in language processing.

1.2.4 Contact Bilingualism

1.2.4.1 Introduction

Bilingual contact can act as a conduit for change in the observable language behavior of the individuals involved. However, other sociolinguistic factors influence whether the contact leads to long-term change or merely increases the range of synchronic variation. Diffusion of new variants occurs when individuals are sufficiently pleased with the innovations to want to imitate and communicate them to others.

There are a number of reasons a group of people may become bilingual. Migration, political federalism and nationalism as well as cultural and educational factors can also lead to bilingualism (Grosjean 1982). Regardless of the manner in which they were formed, diglossic speech communities without individual bilingualism virtually do not exist. The

term diglossia was developed by Ferguson (1959) in his now classic article. In his definition, diglossia involved two varieties of a linguistic system used in a speech community--a formal or **High (H)** variety and a vernacular or popular form, which he termed **Low (L)**. Within the speech community, each variety has its own functions. The **H** variety has more prestige and is often associated with religious functions, literary and historical heritage. It is standardized, often internationally, is relatively stable, and is not acquired by children as a first language but later on in life. Ferguson claims that the **H** variety tends to be grammatically more complex than the **L** variety, having more obligatorily marked grammatical distinctions, a more complex morphophonemic system, less symmetrical inflection and less regular case marking. The implication is that in bilingual communities many people, especially those who speak a minority language, have to learn two languages if they hope to succeed within the society. The influence of one language on the other is an important factor in these situations of prolonged and systematic language contact (Appel & Muysken 1987).

1.2.4.2 Bilingual syntax

In his research, Lipski (1991) found that Spanish-English Cuban-American bilinguals are not resetting a "unified" **pro**-drop parameter. However, the syntactic and referential properties which separate null and overt subject pronouns in Spanish may be gradually converging, especially when the

bilingual balance tilts in the direction of English. In this case of language contact, bilinguals' usage of overt subject pronouns follows English use more closely, although never converging completely.

As part of his explanation of contact as a cause of change, Green (1993:16-7) states that "real change only occurs when new generations of language learners construct different underlying systems from the surface variants to which they are exposed". While a linguistic change is in progress, an archaic form (the original) and an innovative form coexist within the grammar. This grammar differs from an earlier grammar by the addition of a rule, or perhaps by the conversion of an invariant rule to a variable one, thereby allowing both elements to exist in free variation. The use of the innovative element increases, eventually replacing the original form when the change is complete. Change is more regular in the outcome than in the process. Speakers do not abruptly cease employing the element that is being replaced as previous studies have proven (Appel & Muysken 1987; Labov 1982, 1972; Weinreich 1966[12]; Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968).

1.2.4.3 Contact bilingual Spanish and **pro**-drop

Comparisons between Spanish and English from a second language acquisition perspective tend to emphasize the categorical retention of overt subject pronouns in Spanish and the ungrammatical elimination of subject pronouns in English

(Lipski 1991). Inasmuch as the **pro**-drop option in Spanish is in principle optional, except as stated earlier in the case of null expletives, native speakers of Spanish are not always in agreement as to the desirability or acceptability of null/overt subject pronouns. The results of test utterances as well as the analysis of unmonitored speech reveals great variation in the actual production of these forms.

The results of Lipski's (1991) pilot study of Cuban-American "transitional" bilinguals (TB) indicate that the principal modification of the pronominal system involves undifferentiation of null and overt subject pronouns which are separated in monolingual Spanish. Transitional bilinguals include those who acquired Spanish as a native or quasi-native language but whose ability in the language does not always attain the levels associated with fluent monolingual or balanced bilingual speakers. Teachers of courses for "native speakers" are quite familiar with these individuals who may represent a majority of the "Spanish speakers" in many regions of the United States (such as the Southwest) and who have not been frequently identified in research dedicated to the linguistic behavior of bilinguals.

According to Lipski (1991) overt pronouns are losing their status as stressed or strong pronouns as opposed to inherently weak null pronouns, and at times even show the distributional characteristics of subject clitics. Among his observations are that none of the TB speakers interviews

completely failed to use null subject pronouns and that all of them employed subject-verb inversion although in some instances the usage consisted only of set combinations such as **creo yo** ("I think"). One of the most consistent deviations from monolingual Spanish is the apparent ease with which coreferential chains of overt subject pronouns are used when no contrastive focus is indicated (for example, from Lipski 1991: **(1)Yo decidí ser maestra porque yo estuve trabajando con niños y yo pensé que yo podía hacer lo mismo.** ("I decided to be a teacher because I was working with children and I thought that I could do the same thing.") **Ellos$_i$ son de aquí de los Estados Unidos y ellos$_i$ hablan más inglés que yo.** (They are from here in the United States and they speak more English than I do.")). This differentiates TB speakers from monolingual speakers because the latter reject the proliferation of subject pronouns. The data also provided examples where overt subject pronouns displayed no differences with respect to null pronouns in terms of their coreferentiality with full NPs, including cases of "backwards pronominalization," i.e., **O$_i$Creo que yo$_i$ tengo bastantes problemas con la gramática.** ("[I] believe that I have enough problems with grammar.") The preceding sentence is exemplary of the increasing syntactic and semantic approximation of null and overt subject pronouns in the Spanish of TB speakers. The data indicate that TB Spanish speakers are approaching a stage

where the only distinguishing feature between null and overt pronouns is the presence or absence of phonetic substance.[13]

1.3 Language Contact

1.3.1 Introduction

The definition of individual bilingualism is fairly clear, although determining whether a given person is bilingual or not is far from a simple matter. Societal bilingualism occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken (Appel & Muysken 1987). Theoretically, three forms of societal bilingualism can be distinguished. The first situation leading to societal bilingualism is that in which two languages are spoken by two different groups and each group is monolingual. This form often occurred in former colonial countries where the colonizers spoke one language and the native people spoke another. In communities where all members of the community are bilingual, such as in African countries and India, the second form of societal bilingualism exists. In the third situation, one group is monolingual and the other bilingual, with the latter group forming a minority in the sociological sense (i.e., it is a non-dominant or oppressed group). The situation of the Inuit in Greenland, who must learn Danish while the Danish-speaking community (which is sociologically dominant) remains monolingual, is a representative example. Obviously, these are only theoretical types which do not exist in pure form; different mixtures are

much more common in the world we live in (Appel & Muysken 1987).

Bilingualism, although considered to be the most common result of language contact, covers various degrees of competence in the target language. Many times a less than perfect version of the target language becomes common among a group of second-language speakers. "Foreigner talk," where native speakers adjust their speech in order to accommodate foreigners is one example. The learner's incomplete ability in the native language receives the label "broken" speech (Sankoff 1980).

The creation and use of a lingua franca is another method of communicating without the establishment of bilingualism. This situation has its origins in the language of traders, who are less likely to learn the individual languages of their various partners. Papua New Guinea and the surrounding area, where there are about 760 indigenous languages is a good example of this situation since it provides a favorable background for widespread bi- and multilingualism. This complex language situation led to the establishment of a number of lingue franche in the area when the social situation arose in which the varied populations needed to communicate across several language boundaries (Sankoff 1980; Wurm 1977).

A jargon is a very primitive contact system which subsequently leads to the emergence of a more stable pidgin, and generally involves the migration of a socially dominated

group. This is exemplified by slavery or by contract labor in a colonial setting. It can also be induced by trade carried out on an unequal footing. In other words, a group of people is forced by circumstances to develop a new communication system to be used with foreigners who speak a different language. Although various languages are involved at the moment that a jargon or pidgin emerges, the vocabulary employed is generally derived from the language that is socially dominant in the original contact situation (Appel & Muysken 1987).

After the original social disruption that led to the jargon or pidgin, a new society comes into existence (i.e., the Caribbean plantations of the colonial era or the islands of the South Pacific in this century), and the children from newly formed marriages may grow up with the pidgin as the only linguistic model which they may expand into a language that becomes their native language. This is how a number of creole languages have emerged (Appel & Muysken 1987). In other words, pidginization can be defined as second-language learning with restricted input and creolization as first-language learning with restricted input (Bickerton 1977:49). A creole can be derived from a rudimentary, a stable or a structurally expanded pidgin (Appel & Muysken 1987) and the period at which this takes place will be decided by the communication needs of the children (whether the ancestral languages of their pidgin-speaking parents do or do not constitute adequate and feasible

means of communication for them) and not by any internal development in the pidgin (Bickerton 1977). However, a pidgin may never become a creole and may continue to evolve in the direction of the original target. The result is a language that can be placed at the upper end of the post-pidgin continuum (Appel & Muysken 1987). Pidginization and early creolization involve very different processes. Pidginization involves the gradual elimination of substratal influences that are heavily present in the initial stages while creolization involves the acquisition of grammatical rules, the majority of which are not present in either substrate or superstrate languages (Bickerton 1977).

Once a creole has come into existence three things can happen. First, the language can remain as it is without undergoing further major changes. Second, the creole can lose its status as a native language and continue only as a lingua franca (i.e., repidginization as in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau). And third, the creole can develop further in the direction of a socially dominant language so that the post-creole continuum emerges (Appel & Muysken 1987).

The processes involved in the changes that pidgins and creoles undergo are explained by the developmental and restructuring continua (Mülhäusler 1980). The developmental continuum consists of the emergence of a jargon, followed by a stabilized pidgin, an expanded pidgin (post-pidgin) which terminates in the development of a creole which may be

followed by a post-creole segment.[14] The restructuring continuum follows. The development of a redundant number system in New Guinea Pidgin is used to illustrate the progression of these stages. In the jargon stage there is no formal means of marking plurality whereas in the stabilization stage **ol** (from English "all") is used as a plural pronoun. The early expansion stage shows the plural to be redundant with pronouns and animate nominals. This continues in the late expansion stage. The transition form is expanded to creolized Tok Pisin but is not a drastic example of expansion (Mülhäusler 1980).[15]

Present stability is the result of past movement; what seems like a stable situation today may rapidly change in the future or be the interim result of a drastic change that escapes present notice. According to Appel & Muysken (1987), occurrences of language contact can be divided into five types of situations. The linguistic archipelago is an areal configuration in which many often unrelated languages, each with a few speakers, are spoken in the same ecosphere. Although such situations are rare at the moment, they were frequent in pre-colonial times and are characterized by extensive bilingualism which includes widespread diffusion of words and elements of grammar from language to language. The Amazon basin and the Australian desert are present-day examples. The second setting for language contact involves more or less stable borders between language families such as

those found between Romance and Germanic in Switzerland and Belgium and between Indo-European and Dravidian languages which run through India. While extensive borrowing is reported in India, this does not seem to exist in Switzerland and only marginally in Belgium. This seems to be due to the very different power and status relationships obtaining between the languages involved. The third possibility results from European colonial expansion which created a number of societies in which high-prestige European languages coexist with the native language(s) of the conquered populations as do Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay. The fourth type of situation reflects individual pockets of speakers of minority languages, cut off by the surrounding national language such as with Welsh and Gaelic in Great Britain, Frisian in the Netherlands and Basque in France and Spain. These groups tend to reflect traditional populations which were already in existence when new peoples and languages arrived. The fifth and final situation is that of a reverse migratory movement such as the influx of people from the post-colonial Third World societies into industrialized nations.

1.3.2 Language Maintenance and Shift

1.3.2.1 Introduction

The double nature of language enables two possible approaches to its study. It can be regarded as a symbolic system for the purpose of communication, in which case the object of study is the language used by individuals or

language communities. However, language can also be regarded as a social characteristic, resource or cultural commodity. In this case, the object of study is the individual and/or the social group (language community). These differences in the definitions of the concept of language are applied to the research and discussion of language maintenance and shift (Clyne 1992; de Vries 1992).

1.3.2.2 Factors affecting language maintenance and shift

Why do some minority groups lose their language while others retain theirs?[16] It is obvious that language shift, the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members (Dorian 1982), does take place in a variety of settings. The two "classic" settings in which this phenomenon has been well studied are indigenous minority languages and transplanted immigrant languages (Dorian 1982). A group's propensity to shift is related to such social factors as exposure, economic or social utility, context and prior knowledge (de Vries 1992; Dorian 1982),[17] while a combination of three factors operates in the process of language maintenance: status, demographics and institutional support factors (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977).

Status has a number of components, all of which determine whether the particular language is maintained or lost. Economic status is a prominent factor in nearly all studies of language maintenance and shift which indicate that minority language speakers who have low economic status show a strong

tendency to shift towards the majority language. In other words, immigrants who want to get ahead in society place a high value on speaking the majority language, which in turn has a negative effect on their use of the native language (Appel & Muysken 1987; Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992). Most Spanish-speaking Mexican immigrants fall into this category because social status is very closely aligned to economic status. It is equally important to language maintenance since a group's self-esteem is largely dependent on its economic status. If speakers consider themselves to have low social position, they will shift to the language which has the connotations of higher social standing (i.e., Quechua speakers shifting to Spanish (Appel & Muysken 1987)). Language status, which is influenced by social status, is an important variable in a bilingual community. In addition, the status within the community must be distinguished from that outside the community. The attitude of the group towards its native language is important because when a group is emotionally attached to its native language and has pride in its literary and cultural heritage, it makes an effort to maintain it and pass it on to its children (Grosjean 1982; Veltman 1982, 1983). Many speakers of Spanish in the Southwest have negative attitudes towards their variety of Spanish, viewing it as "only a dialect" or "border slang" rather than as real language (Appel & Muysken 1987).

Demographic factors concern the number of members of a linguistic minority group and their geographical distribution. Some believe the absolute number of speakers of a language becomes important when it decreases (Giles, et al. 1977), while others conclude that there is no general correspondence between numerical strength and language maintenance (Clyne 1982). The geographical distribution of minority group members in itself is not the causal factor in language maintenance and shift, but the related communication patterns and the absence or presence of daily social pressure to use the prestigious language. This is the reason for the continued preservation of minority languages by persons in rural areas long after they are abandoned in their urban counterparts. (Cf. Hill and Hill (1977) regarding Nahuatl-speaking communities in central Mexico.).[18]

Institutional support factors refer to the extent to which the minority language is represented in the various institutions of a nation, region or community. Maintenance is supported when the minority language is used in government, church, cultural organizations, the mass media, governmental or administrative services and education. This is exemplified by politically well-organized minority groups (i.e., Cubans of Miami, Chicanos in the Southwest) where the mother tongue is a vehicle of expression and a very powerful force for language maintenance (Appel & Muysken 1987; Grosjean 1982).

A group that arrived a long time ago and is not being renewed by new arrivals from the home country is more likely to shift to the majority language than are either those that began arriving only a few years ago or recent immigration groups that are being reinforced by a constant stream of new monolingual arrivals (Grosjean 1982; Romaine 1989). The latter accounts for the recent increase shown in the number of Spanish speakers whose language has been renewed by the latest wave of immigration, now making the U.S. the fifth largest Hispanic country in the world (Romaine 1989). Besides, a group that believes it will remain in the host country for only a short period has a natural tendency to retain its native language and culture and makes sure that the children can speak and write the home language (Grosjean 1982).

The factors listed do not influence language maintenance or shift directly but only indirectly via intervening variables. A number of sociolinguistic phenomena must be taken into account when describing these intervening variables. The first is the relationship between language and identity since speakers generally want to express their social status in their linguistic behavior and try to assert their identity by choosing a certain language. The second is the importance of social networks which differentiates between the individuals' immediate environment and the networks in which they participate. The latter seem to have a stronger and more direct influence on language use.[19]

The phenomenon of language shift has existed for as long as languages have come into contact and language choice plays an important role in the process (Appel & Muysken 1987; Grosjean 1982). When speakers use two languages, both will not be used in all circumstances. Since language can be used to express the individual's identity, the identity imposed by the individual's group membership is a crucial factor in language choice, as is the situation in which the conversation takes place and the topic of conversation. Language choice is subject to the same factors as all kinds of language behavior (Appel & Muysken 1987).

The process of language shift seems to be going on in many bilingual communities. More and more speakers use the majority language in domains where they formerly spoke the minority tongue. Thus, "shift" seems to have come to mean "shift toward the majority or prestigious language", when in reality it is a neutral concept and shift toward the extended use of the minority language can also be observed. After a period of shift toward the majority language, there is often a tendency to reverse the process because some people come to realize that the minority language is disappearing and they try to promote its use (i.e., French in Quebec). When the function of a language is reduced, as happens in the case of shift to the majority language, speakers generally become less proficient in it, which leads to language loss. If the

process is left unchecked, the inevitable result is language death (Appel & Muysken 1987).

1.3.2.3 Language maintenance and shift in the United States

Numerous researchers have remarked on the extreme instability and transitional nature of bilingualism in the United States (Cf. Fishman, et. al. 1966; Hakuta 1986; Lieberson, Dalto and Johnston 1975). However, it must be noted that to remain monolingual, that is to use no English, the parents of an immigrant family in the United States must live in a close-knit ethnic community where they can work, shop, converse with friends and relatives in their own language (Romaine 1989). However, most first-generation Americans, especially if they are young, come into contact with English speakers and become bilingual. Most remain bilingual for the rest of their lives, but there are those who have no way of maintaining their first language and/or who desire to assimilate quickly or who actually reject their first language and become monolingual speakers of English. However, the language patterns of second-generation Americans (the children born to first-generation Americans) are more complex. Some of them are bilingual from the beginning and some insist on becoming monolingual in English in order to assimilate as rapidly as possible. Most, however, begin by speaking the native language of their parents, provided that they are the first born and that their parents speak the native language at home. Thus, the children tend to be

monolingual in the minority language until they reach school and learn the majority language. By the time they reach the age of eight or nine, they are bilingual. It now becomes a question of whether the individual child will remain bilingual or shift entirely over to the majority language. If the parents are bilingual and social pressures on behalf of the majority language are strong, then the child will make the shift over to English. However, if communication in the home, with family and friends, can only take place using the minority language, then the child will remain bilingual and will grow up proficient in both languages (Grosjean 1982).[20]

The three factors believed to play a major role in language shift in the United States are the educational policy in this country, periods of American nationalism and the assimilative power of American society (Grosjean 1982). The aim of educational policy in this country has been, and in large part still remains, the linguistic and cultural assimilation of minority children. Public education is, therefore, an important factor in language shift, for minority children are taught in the majority language in what amounts to Anglo-American surroundings. In this environment, many of them very quickly begin to identify with the English language and the culture that accompanies it. When the home language is strong enough, stable bilingualism and biculturalism may result. Most often, however, the situation leads to English monolingualism. Bilingual education may slow down the trend;

many believe that it will only postpone language shift, not reverse it. The periods of nationalism which are linked to wars and economic difficulties have played a large role in language shift by hastening the assimilation of foreigners. The strong nationalistic feelings fostered by World War I played a primary role in the language shift of German Americans and other language groups. Although there were less xenophobic feelings, World War II also encouraged the linguistic assimilation of minority groups. The nonethnic character of American society and its assimilative power is the third factor. Millions of immigrants have given up their native languages (and even their ethnicity) because American society stresses democracy, equality, progress and opportunity rather than threatening the cultural and linguistic aspects of the minority groups as has happened in Europe. Because they don't feel threatened, minority groups do not react by overdefending their language and culture which in turn leads to easier assimilation (Grosjean 1982). (Cf. Fishman, et. al. 1966; Fishman 1971; Fishman, Cooper & Ma 1971; Guitart 1981c; Hidalgo 1986 and López 1978 for the role played by language loyalty in the maintenance of the native language or the shift to English as well as other motivations.) However, it must be kept in mind that no one factor accounts for a group's maintenance of its native language or its shift over to English. Several factors can serve to brake the rapid transition to English, such as population concentrations,

parental nativity and parental practices (Veltman 1983). The many factors affecting maintenance and shift interact in complex ways so that shift is enhanced, neutralized or even opposed.

Without long term monitoring of a contact situation, it is difficult to tell at what point a stable maintenance situation gives way to a shift situation. A language which has been highly stable demographically for centuries can suddenly "tip". Thereafter, the demographics change direction in favor of another language. Because the dynamics of a maintenance situation may change over time, a maintenance situation can gradually become one of shift (Dorian 1981).

1.3.3 Language Attrition/Loss and Language Death

1.3.3.1 Introduction

The gradual disappearance of a language in a community where it used to be spoken does not leave a linguistic vacuum; it is always replaced by a language with which it was in contact. The danger of disappearance in contact situations is only real for the dominated language; that is, for the sociological minority group. Because reduction in proficiency and reduction in use can and do occur separately, there is a need to distinguish between them. Changes in language use are considered language shift while changes in language proficiency are considered language loss (Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992).

The metaphorical "death" of a language can occur either by the extinction of all of its speakers (which is possible if the community is small) or by the shift of all of its speakers to another language (usually occurring over the space of two or three generations) (Posner 1993). The classic pattern for language attrition and eventual language death is that a community which was once monolingual becomes transitionally bilingual as a stage on the way to the eventual extinction of its original language. Language loss involves bilingualism, and even diglossia, as a stage on the way to monolingualism in the new language. The existence of bilingualism, diglossia and code-switching are often cited as factors leading to language death (Clyne 1992; Romaine 1989).

1.3.3.2 Symptoms of language loss

As a language loses territory in a given community, speakers become less proficient in it; children will often speak the mother tongue less well than their parents. The loss of lexical skills goes hand in hand with relexification: words from the dominant language replace words in the minority language (Appel & Muysken 1987; Clyne 1992; Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992).[21]

Morphological simplification by less proficient speakers is another frequently observed aspect of language loss. The morphology of the minority language is simplified and fluent speakers only apply general rules without knowing the exceptions (Appel & Muysken 1987; Clyne 1992). There is a

clear tendency in less proficient speakers to drop complex morphological devices and to restrict themselves to simple rules (Dorian 1978).[22]

A third aspect of language loss is monostylism. Languages tend to be heterogeneous; that is, different variants of one language can express the same meaning and the choice of a certain variant depends on characteristics of the speech situation. In other words, language consists of different styles that are related to situations. In cases of language shift/loss, the language being lost will be used in fewer situations which will entail a reduction of the number of variants. The styles will merge with one another and monostylism results, thereby contributing to the decay of the language because it restricts its use value (Appel & Muysken 1987).[23]

1.3.3.3 Summary

The two processes of language shift and language loss reinforce each other with the ultimate result of language death. However, these are not inevitable processes (Appel & Muysken 1987; Dorian 1982). Shift towards the majority language by minority groups does not always imply better chances for educational achievement and upward social mobility. Minority group members may develop strategies to foster use of the minority language and improve proficiency therein, which leads to its revitalization (Appel & Muysken 1987). Language death only occurs when intraethnic

communication disappears, which normally only happens when the group itself dissolves due to demographic causes. The dissolution of the group is the result rather than the cause of the shift process; the language ceases to be a core value for the group, and dies without the group structure being affected by it (Dorian 1980; Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992; Smolicz 1981). As long as there is a minority group which is not demographically broken up, the use of the minority language will not disappear unless the norms for language use within the group are changed.

1.4 Contact Bilingual Spanish

Since the late 18th century, language has been regarded as the badge of ethnic or national identity, and even today, with the increasing uniformity of lifestyles, it may be the only differentiating feature of many communities (Posner 1993). The popular image of the bilingual is someone who has learned two languages from infancy and is equally at home in both; it is an image which stresses the natural acquisition of bilingualism and its balanced outcome. The balance of the two codes, or the degree of dominance of one of them, constitutes only one of the dimensions of bilingualism identified in the increasingly elaborate typologies now being advocated (Green 1993). In his classic account of contact-induced language change, Weinreich (1966) made the bilingual individual both the locus of contact and the agent of transfer. Bilingualism can lead to change by increasing the speaker's opportunities

for choice of language and by making possible a long-term shift in preference for one language, to the detriment and possible abandonment of the other (Green 1993).

The bilingual continuum proposed by Silva-Corvalán (1991) helps to explain the complex language situation found in areas of prolonged language contact. The bilingual continuum, which is similar to the creole continuum, allows the identification of a series of lects ranging from full-fledged to emblematic Spanish and vice-versa, from full-fledged to emblematic English, depending on which language is dominant in the individual. On the individual level, these lects represent a wide range of dynamic levels of proficiency in the subordinate language.[24] Therefore, in principle it is possible for an individual to move or be moving toward either end of the bilingual continuum at any given synchronic stage of life. Silva-Corvalán (1991) hypothesizes that intensive and prolonged contact with English (the superordinate language) causes a reduction of domains of use in Spanish (the subordinate language) which has consequences on the Spanish (in her case, the verb-system) of the bilinguals. The Spanish evidences the processes of simplification and restructuring, with possible transfer from and convergence with English. Her study points out the regularity with which the linguistic system changes. The patterns of simplification and loss are not random and appear to be more appropriately accounted for by cognitive and social considerations although they follow a

predictable trend which conforms to the constraints of universal grammar. Thus, it can be stated that a language is permeable to influences from another within the constraints imposed by cognitive factors which underline possible and preferred linguistic systems as attested in natural languages. The various verb systems identified in Silva-Corvalán's (1991) study of Mexican-American bilinguals in Los Angeles conform to universal principles of language development in reverse.

Lipski (1991) provides corroborative evidence in that his transitional bilingual (TB) speakers often pattern with second language learners of Spanish although the match is never complete. In spite of this, there are important reasons for identifying and studying TBs as an entirely different entity, independent from Spanish as a sole first language and Spanish as a second language. In other words, TB speakers can be found towards the English end of the aforementioned bilingual continuum.

In spite of the work recently done on the syntax of languages in contact and their use by speakers of differing levels of proficiency, many studies dealing with the contact between Spanish and English across the United States concentrate on sociolinguistic issues such as usage patterns, language preferences (including language loyalty, Cf. Guitart 1981) and domains, and the relative status of each within the various components of the bilingual community. A majority of the studies dedicated to bilingual Spanish in the southwest

portion United States concentrates on the issues of language shift and maintenance and the motivations therefor. What has been found over the years (Cf. Amastae 1982; Floyd 1982; Hidalgo 1986; Hudson-Edwards and Bills 1982; Lopez 1978; Ortiz 1975; Silva-Corvalán 1991; Thompson 1974) is that use of Spanish in the home diminishes with each passing generation; the younger the individuals, the less Spanish is spoken, thereby diminishing proficiency. Even when spoken to in Spanish by relatives born outside the United States, second and third generation individuals increasingly respond in English when the individual belonging to the previous generation comprehends the latter.[25] Age is also a contributing factor to the process of language shift from Spanish to English. Those 55 years and over tend to use the most Spanish while those under the age of thirty-five use it least, regardless of generation. The younger children in the household tend to employ less Spanish than their older siblings, who in turn, use less than the parents (Floyd 1982). Studies of language maintenance have also shown differences in use related to the urban or rural background of the speakers involved; rural households reflect a pattern of greater maintenance of Spanish among adults and their children. It was precisely this variable that revealed that language shift was in progress in Austin, Texas (Thompson 1974).[26]

Although Spanish is constantly being replenished with a steady stream of new arrivals, observations suggest that the

Spanish language is not being maintained among the younger population of Mexican/Mexican-Americans in the Southwestern portion of this country.[27] The data seem to indicate that Spanish is being lost, rather than maintained, among the traditionally Spanish-speaking Chicanos in the Southwest, regardless of their proximity to or distance from the border with Mexico. This indicates a paradox because the increasing number of Hispanics reported in the census data, for example, and the renewed interest amongst High School students (Cf. García and Díaz 1992; Hakuta and D'Andrea 1992) in the rediscovery and use of the ancestral language, are indicators of language maintenance, while the data provided by cross-generational studies indicate a loss of Spanish at an increasing rate.

1.5 Notes

1. Second generation speakers are defined as those who were either born in the United States or who emigrated to the U.S. from Mexico before 6 years of age. Additionally, one of his/her parents belongs to the group of monolingual speakers.
Third generation speakers are those who were born in the United States and whose parents, by definition, belong to the second generation group.

2. This dialect differs from the Caribbean dialects of Spanish where the loss of word-final verb morphology creates the need for obligatory subject pronouns in order to determine the subject. In the Caribbean dialects, the use of subject pronouns cannot be attributed solely to contact with English. The influence of language-internal factors must also be considered.

3. According to Y. Solé (1987), one-third of the Spanish-speaking population in the United States resides in three U.S. cities and their surrounding areas: Los Angeles, New York and Miami. However, when the population is distributed by state, California (31%) remains first, followed by Texas (20%) and New York (11%).

The U.S. Bureau of Census (1993) figures show that 19.5% of the total U.S. Hispanic population can be found in Texas. Those of Mexican origin comprised 89.7% of those Hispanics found in Texas and 28.8% of the total U.S. population claiming to be of Mexican origin can be found in the state of Texas.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census (1991), of the 128,555 Hispanics in Houston's suburban counties, 86.1% are of Mexican descent. 80% of the 645,000 Hispanics in Harris County, in which Houston is located and of which Houston is the major population center, are of Mexican descent.

4. Lipski (personal communication) pointed out at the onset of the project that it is highly unlikely that any parameter has been reset but that insecurity in Spanish allows the English patterns to serve as "defaults" for these speakers. Green (1993) likewise states that bilingualism leads to structural insecurity and consequently to interference via code-switching. Although this mechanism is proposed as the most likely explanation for lusitanization, it applies to the matter under discussion.

5. See Lipski (1991) for the details of a pilot study that presents some patterns of pronominal evolution in contact Spanish and the possible influence of English thereon.

6. An opposing point of view is expressed in Diller (1970), who states that the distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism is a conceptual artifact which does not receive support in the experimental literature.

7. The hybrid of Spanish and Quechua in Ecuador called "Media Lengua", described by Muysken (1979) and the mixture of Guaraní and Spanish in Paraguay, studied by Meliá (1969) were originally rejected. What these two varieties had in common was that all the members of the society were bilingual, they lacked formal education and were unexposed to monolingual norms of either language. These factors eliminated the need for a separation of the two languages and the two merged, thus providing us with an example of the case where the two spheres completely coincide.

8. Cf. Haugen 1981 for a discussion of the concept of "language market".

9. MacLaughlin (1978) suggests that the acquisition of more than one language up to the age of three as simultaneous acquisition.

10. One must not forget that early childhood is characterized as a time of considerable physiological development and is marked by important developments related to cognitive functioning. Early childhood bilingualism takes place during the same temporal period of native single language development in monolinguals. This period is marked by parallel development in cognitive domains. The relationship between bilingual development and cognitive development must also be considered. Furthermore, the relationship between bilingualism and cognitive style (learning style) cannot be ignored. Cognitive style refers to the multiplicity of approaches in which individuals process environmental (sensory) information (García 1983). Steward and Steward (1973) and Laosa (1977) found consistent differences between Anglo (monolingual) and Mexican-American (bilingual) mother-child interaction with respect to input, placing and content. Although inconclusive, the evidence suggests that the interactional qualities of bilinguals and monolinguals may differ substantially.

11. Taeschner (1983) also provides evidence that children generally do not lag behind in either language when compared to monolingual children. In fact, the double linguistic processing load does not affect the proficiency in either language.

12. The edition I used was the 1966 reprinted edition of the work originally published by Weinreich in 1953.

13. It was also noticed that TB speakers do not always exhibit the same strength of intuitions about subject pronoun usage as monolingual or balanced bilingual speakers, particularly in the case where more subtle judgments are required due to the complexity of the structures involved (Lipski 1991).

14. For Bickerton (1980) the creole continuum is first and foremost a linguistic and not a social phenomenon. He claims that decreolization is a unilinear process whose changes must be distinguished from spontaneous changes. Except for cases of reanalysis, the distinction can be made by determining whether a change initiates through a change in meaning, function or distribution of some pre-existing creole form, or through the introduction of a superstrate form with (initially) a characteristically creole meaning, function and distribution. Post-hoc assignment of social value to the products of spontaneous changes does not later convert the latter into decreolization changes.

15. A developmental continuum is characterized by:
    (1) A continued addition of grammatical devices which increase the referential and non-referential power of a pidgin.
    (2) The structural expansion is the result of growing communicative range of a language. The most drastic change occurs when the pidgin becomes the first language of a community.
    (3) The direction of the development is generally from less natural to more natural.

(Mülhäusler 1980:27)

16. Veltman (1982) indicates that the Hispanic rate of language maintenance was higher than other immigrant groups during the 1970's but adds that it is unlikely that Hispanics are any different in terms of first language maintenance and the shift to English.

17. Dorian (1982) also includes pragmatism and cultural stance which either does or does not favor language maintenance in her inventory of factors leading to language shift.

18. For Grosjean (1982), the geographic concentration of the group as an important factor in language maintenance is supported. The breakup of ethnic concentration has led to rapid language shift throughout the history of immigrant groups. Isolation favors language maintenance if the members of the group, due to any one of a number of factors, do not have to interact with other minority groups (for which they would need the majority language) or with speakers of the majority language. It favors shift when the group is isolated from the home country.

According to Veltman (1983), demographic factors serve to

slow down the process of language shift to English but ultimately do not halt the process.

19. See Gal (1979) for details on how these factors are interrelated and the different ways in which they affect language maintenance and shift.

20. Fishman (1965) reports that older children are more retentive of the native language than younger children. He also observes that first children retain it more than their younger counterparts. In addition, Fishman states that children speak the language better than grandchildren.

21. Hill and Hill's (1977) study of Nahuatl speakers in central Mexico is an excellent example of the processes of lexical reduction and replacement.

22. The reduction of individual proficiency, failure by some members to fully acquire the language and social changes resulting in the obsolescence of part the proficiency can all be indicators of language loss (Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992).

23. See Lefebvre (1979) where the relation between function and form of a language is analyzed in the Quechua speech community of Cuzco, Peru.

24. As is the case with many sociolinguistic situations of this type, some members of the community are able to participate in conversations held mainly in Spanish although they, themselves, use English almost exclusively. This indicates that comprehension and production are indeed different skills, and that individual bilinguals can be proficient n one without being so in the other (Silva-Corvalán 1991, fn 10).

25. Ortiz (1975) reported that the once essentially monolingual Spanish community of Arroyo Seco, NM, of the 1940's turned into a bilingual community by 1975, with an increasing percentage of individuals claiming both Spanish and English as mother tongue and an increasing number claiming equal proficiency in both languages.

26. Lopez (1978) indicated that his findings also gave support (although limited) to the idea of greater maintenance of Spanish in rural areas than in urban Los Angeles.

27. For data interpreted to show that this is not the case, Cf. López (1978) regarding Chicano language loyalty.

CHAPTER 2

SYNTACTIC THEORY AND THE PRO-DROP PARAMETER

2.1 Introduction

The move away from a rule-based theory to one based on principles and parameters was intended to establish a much more explanatory relationship between the grammar and the structures it produced. The theory of Universal Grammar (UG) must be restrictive enough to account for the fact that the child arrives at a particular grammar while at the same time being sufficiently open to allow for the range of possible human languages. The principles and parameters grammatical model contains a set of principles and operations which hold universally, such as X-Bar Theory which determines the form of the phrase structure component and Move α which is a single transformational operation. Additionally, each of the principles has associated with it a set of possible values which express the limited range within which grammars may vary with respect to each principle of operation. For example, X-Bar Theory specifies that all phrases are endocentric or "headed". However, the position of the head within the phrase may vary parametrically from language to language.[1] The categories over which α ranges may be different for different languages (NP, PP, VP, etc.). It is possible that a language

allows movement of one or more of these categories but not necessarily all of them. The linguistic level at which movement applies may also differ (Cf. Lasnik and Saito 1992).

Although UG theory assumes that, at the initial state, a child is provided with this set of universal principles of grammar and the parameters that provide optional grammatical postulates, it is not necessarily the case that all of the principles of UG are present at the initial state. It is consistent with the hypothesis of continuous development that certain principles mature at later points in the developmental process.[2] In order to arrive at the adult grammar, the child must "set" each of the parameters at the value which is correct for the language being learned. Material in the input data will act as triggers to fix the parameter at one or another of the predetermined values. The interaction between the universal principles and value-fixed parameters results in what has come to be called the Core Grammar. Thus, the parameters of UG make available a set of core grammars. The grammar of a particular language, therefore, is the core grammar and a periphery of marked elements and constructions.

The hypothesis of continuous development embedded within the parameterized theory of grammar makes certain empirical predictions about the shape of the intermediate grammars formulated as the child moves towards establishing the adult grammar. One of these is that these grammars, although not

fully specified, will not be outside the limits imposed by UG (that is, they do not violate universal constraints).

For example, a child acquiring English must determine that English is a head first language. The evidence necessary for this determination is readily available in the linguistic environment. The child will hear sentences such as "Susie ate the apple" but not "Susie apple the ate". The accessibility of this information allows word-related parameters to be fixed relatively early in the child's development.[3] The case for Move α can also be shown in that the English-speaking child hears sentences with initial **wh**-words representing arguments which have clearly been displaced from sentence-internal positions, which may provide sufficient evidence that Move α applies in the syntax. Thus, a single parameter setting may result in what appears to be a variety of superficially unrelated effects. On the basis of limited evidence very different grammatical systems can be constructed.[4]

One of the most extensively studied parameters within parameter theory is the "Pro-drop"[5] parameter (also known as the "Null Subject" parameter) which accounts for, among others, the possibility of phonologically null subjects in languages like Italian and Spanish.

2.2 Defining the Properties of Pro-drop

2.2.1 Traditional Grammars

According to traditional grammars,[6] Spanish has a "rich" system of inflection which allows sentences to appear without

overt subjects. This is explained by the fact that since Spanish verb forms have different endings for each grammatical person (with some exceptions), the subject of the sentence is known and the pronoun forms are normally omitted. If used, they are considered unnecessary and redundant and add a "heaviness" to the sentence.

(1) **Quiero comer ahora.**
("I want to eat now.")

Queremos dos libras de uvas.
("We want two pounds of grapes.")

Irás a la playa este verano.
("You (fam. sg.) will go to the beach this summer.")

Irá al campo para las vacaciones.
("S/he will go to the country for his/her vacation.")

However, there are certain contexts in which the pronouns are obligatory in order to know the subject of the sentence. If the subject can be ascertained from the discourse context, pronominal usage becomes optional. The two primary reasons for employing subject pronouns in Spanish are to avoid ambiguity and for emphasis.

When the verb endings are the same for first, second (formal) and third person singular such as the imperfect indicative, conditional and all subjunctive tenses, the pronouns are used in order to avoid ambiguity.

(2) **Yo quería salir, pero él no podía.**
("I wanted to go out, but he couldn't.")

Es bueno que Ud. no fume.
("It's good that you (fml. sg.) don't smoke.

Si yo pudiera, iría a la fiesta.
(If I could, I would go to the party.")

Si ella pudiera, iría al baile contigo.
("If she could, she would go to the dance with you.")

When in English the subject is stressed for emphasis or for contrast, an obligatory overt subject pronoun is added in Spanish.

(3) **Tú puedes comer ahora, ella no.**
("You (fam. sg.) can eat now, not she.")

Dígale que yo la quiero ver.
("Tell him that I want to see her."

Subject pronouns are used in initial position with verbs of opinion and knowledge, when the speaker wishes to reassert his stand or opinion and not merely convey information as in (4); to show courtesy, **usted** and **ustedes** are used but occur no more than once per sentence as seen in (5); and are also used after the verb **ser** when the predicate is omitted (as when answering a question) as in (6). In this case, the pronoun is clearly not optional.

(4) **Yo sé lo que quiero.**
("I know what I want.")

Nosotros no podemos negar eso.
("We can't deny that.")

(5) **Si usted pudiera hacerlo, todo quedaría bien.**
("If you (fml. sg.) could do it, everything would be fine.")

Ustedes son muy amables.
("You (fml. pl.) are very kind.

(6) **¿Quiénes están a la puerta? --Son ellas.**
("Who is at the door? It's they (fem.)")

¿Quién habla, Susana? --Sí, soy yo.
("Who's speaking, Susan? Yes. it's I.")

In Spanish, however, subject pronouns do not replace inanimate nouns or animate non-human beings in contexts where a null pronoun is possible. Since there is no subject pronoun grammatically marked for inanimacy, these nouns are either repeated or the subject form is omitted.

(7) **El libro está en la mesa. El libro es para mi hermano.**
("The book is on the table. The book is for my brother.")

El libro está en la mesa. Es para mi hermano.
("The book is on the table. (It) Is for my brother.")

One possible exception is when an inanimate noun is personified.

(8) **Las artes son la actividad más importante del hombre. Ellas constituyen su logro más permanente.**
("The arts are man's most important activity. They are his most permanent achievement.")

However, after prepositions, where the elimination of overt pronouns is not possible, pronouns may be used with inanimate reference.

(9) **Esa pluma no sirve. No escribas con ella.**
("That pen doesn't work. Don't write with it (her).")

Los libros no están en el sofá sino detrás de él.
("The books are not on the sofa but behind it (him).")

2.2.2 Generative Grammar

The introduction of strict categorization and selectional features into the theory of Generative Grammar in order to specify the types of deep structures into which particular lexical items might be inserted and general phrase markers generated by recursive phrase structure rules of the base component as proposed by Chomsky (1965) raised the questions of whether the insertion of lexical items into generalized phrase markers results in ill-formed deep structures and of what grammatical devices are necessary to prevent this. Although Chomsky pointed out that unconstrained insertion of lexical items into generalized phrase markers would produce deep structures which underlie no well-formed sentences, some device was needed to characterize such deep structures as ill formed. Chomsky proposed the device of transformational blocking of derivations.

Perlmutter (1971) proposed **surface structure constraints** or **output conditions** that the output of the transformational component must satisfy. By means of an analysis of the "strong" and "weak" (clitic) form object pronouns in Spanish, he proposed universals which predicted what kinds of generalizations can emerge from data concerning clitics in other languages. He also showed that generalizations of exactly the type predicted emerge in French. Thus, he was among the first to propose that several superficially

unrelated syntactic phenomena had a common basis (although he did not speak of "parameters" as such).[7]

2.2.3 Principles and Parameters

The notion of parameters was introduced for the first time within Chomsky's (1981) Government and Binding framework (based on observations by Rizzi (1980), Taraldsen (1978), etc.). The concept of **pro**-drop was brought forth as a good illustration of this new approach to explaining syntax. The obvious property, null subjects, was subtly related to several other non-obvious properties, whose justification resulted in considerable diversity of opinion among other linguists. Within this new framework, the properties generally associated with **pro**-drop languages such as Italian and Spanish that differentiate them from non-**pro**-drop languages such as English and French have been:

(10) (a) missing subject
[e] voy a la tienda
("(I) go to the store")

(b) free inversion in simple sentences[8]
[e] vendrá Juan
("will come John")

(c) "long **wh**-movement" of subject
el hombre$_i$ [que me pregunto [a quién$_j$ t$_i$ ve t$_j$]]
("the man x, such that I wonder who x sees")

(d) empty resumptive pronouns in embedded clauses
ésta es la chica[que me pregunto[que cree[que [e] puede VP]]]
("this is the girl who I wonder who thinks that she may VP")

(e) apparent violations of the *[**that-t**] filter
¿Quién$_i$ crees que [e]$_i$ vendrá?
*Who$_i$ do you think that [e]$_i$ will come?

Not only are these properties found in Spanish and Italian and other **pro**-drop languages, but they are systematically absent from non-**pro**-drop languages such as English.

Chomsky (1981) agrees with Rizzi (1980)[9] that the latter three characteristics are derived from property (b), namely free inversion of the subject. Chomsky (1981), Rizzi (1980),[10] and Jaeggli (1982) indicate that only missing subjects and free inversion in simple sentences properly belong to the parameter. They indicate that **pro**-drop languages actually observe the constraint that blocks long **wh**-movement of subjects, empty resumptive pronouns and violations of the *[**that-t**] filter, the same way that non-**pro**-drop languages do and that apparent examples which seem to exemplify these three properties are spurious. They claim that the long movement of **wh**-elements and movement appearing to violate the *[**that-t**] filter are both from post-verbal (in which subjects may appear by virtue of (10b)), rather than pre-verbal position, thereby observing the filter in question and that the case of resumptive pronouns can be assimilated to the missing subject property.

Jaeggli (1982) states that both Spanish and Italian have two related though logically independent properties: (1)a pronominal subject is not normally spelled out and (2)free inversion of a subject NP. Inasmuch as these two properties seem to be related in a principled way, he proceeds to tie the two facts together in his analysis.[11]

For Bouchard (1984), the two main properties generally attributed to **pro**-drop languages are (1)a definite pronoun may be missing in subject position and (2)the subject may be freely inverted in declarative statements. Although he states that other properties of **pro**-drop languages are that they allow "long distance WH-movement" of the subject, empty resumptive pronouns in embedded clauses and apparent violations of the **that-trace** filter, he goes on to say that these last three properties are all derivable from the principles that allow the first two and does not discuss them.[12]

Burzio (1986) and Safir (1986) agree that missing subjects and free inversion are the basic properties of **pro**-drop languages. However, both of them also include the allowance of complementizer-trace (***that-t***) violations as a property of the **pro**-drop typically found in Romance languages (except for French).

2.2.4 The Nature of the Null Subject

Over time, there have been numerous explanations for the nature of α in the structures of (11), where α is the missing subject in the surface structure.

(11) (a) α VP (**Come.**, "S/he is eating (eats).)

(b) α V NP (**Llega Juan.**, "John arrives."; **Ha comido María.**, "Mary has eaten."

These null subjects were first explained as deleted full pronouns. However, the belief that α was [$_{NP}$e] would not distinguish between the two cases, which correspond to (11a)

and (11b), respectively. For Rizzi (1980), PRO seemed to be the logical choice for α. At first it was said that **pro**-drop languages differ from non-**pro**-drop languages in that PRO could appear in subject position instead of a pronoun because in **pro**-drop languages the subject position may be ungoverned, thus accepting PRO in the position. In non-**pro**-drop languages this position is invariably governed (by the AGReement element in INFL), thereby eliminating the possibility. If Rule "R",[13] which assigns the elements of INFL to the initial verbal element of VP, applies in the PF component, AGR governs the subject position at S-structure and at LF. If it applies in the syntax, the resulting structure is $NP[_{VP}$ V-INFL...] and AGR, which is in INFL does not govern the subject position at S-structure and LF. Ultimately, this leads to allowing **pro** to be the element found in the subject position in languages which permit missing subjects (Chomsky 1982).

Bouchard (1984) derives the null subject property of **pro**-drop languages from the Case-at-LF property. It results from delaying the percolation of the Case assigning features from V to VP until LF. Case-at-LF allows the EC to be invisible at PF and allows the required features to be assigned at LF by the rich verbal inflection. The missing subject property is derived from the fact that F-features are assigned at LF whereby the EC is interpreted as a definite pronoun.

Rizzi (1982) and Safir (1986) discredit explanations that the empty subject position is PRO. Safir's (1986:345) basis

is the Emex (Empty Expletive) Condition which states that "An expletive empty category must be governed"[14] and rules out the possibility of a non-argument PRO. The missing element in subject position is the empty expletive pronominal (EXE) rather than Chomsky's **pro** because EXE is not a language-specific element.[15] Similarly, Hyams (1986:31) assumes that the element in [NP, S] in sentences such as **Come una manzana Juan** ("John eats an apple.") is a phonologically null expletive which she refers to as **ex**. She also follows Chomsky (1982) in assuming that **pro** (a pure pronominal minus phonetic matrix) is the element appearing in preverbal subject position of tensed clauses in **pro**-drop languages.

On the other hand, Jaeggli (1981; 1982) accounts for the distribution of EC vs lexical pronouns by stating that the EC (in this case PRO) is pronounced if it has Case and is C-governed. Bouchard (1984) extends Jaeggli's account to all the manifestations of Empty Categories (EC), stating that an EC is pronounced (lexical) if it has Case. Bouchard's (1984) complementary approach to ECs allows the formulation of a general principle of Lexicalization[16] which minimally accounts for the distribution of lexical and empty NPs and allows all statements that refer specifically to ECs to be eliminated from the grammar. Furthermore, lexicalization of the NP is obligatory if the NP bears any morphological features at PF. In other words, a lexical noun must have all psi-features at PF whereas an EC must not have any of the

features at PF. Therefore, the characteristic property of NSLs is that their verbal inflections have pronominal properties which can be implemented by assuming that INFL in NSLs is specified with the feature [+pronoun][17] which binds and properly governs the empty NP position.

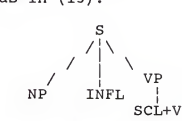
Similarly, following Taraldsen (1978), Burzio (1986) and Safir (1986) assume that null subjects are analogous to cliticized objects and specifically that the inflectional morpheme of the verb can function as a subject clitic (SCL) in cases like **[e] habla** ("He speaks.") where INFL has a pronominal character much like a clitic. Safir (1986) proposes that since Romance languages are clitic languages in that they all have at least verb-dependent direct and indirect object clitics, those which permit missing subjects have SCLs much like those which do not permit missing subjects. However, languages like Spanish (and Italian) differ from French (and Trentino) in that their SCLs are "silent". He calls the missing subject property the "NOM-Drop Parameter" which is defined as

(12) Avoid phonetically realizing NOM Case.

Thus, a clitic can only appear if its Case, a crucial morphological feature, can be phonetically realized. NOM-Drop and the clitic property of Romance languages predict the absence of overt clitics in Spanish and Italian. This assumption (12) permits the analysis of both missing subject

and non-missing subject languages as having an identical structure as in (13).[18]

(13)



INFL assigns Case by government and adjacency to either the structural subject or to the SCL which occupies a morphological slot on the verb. Furthermore, Safir (1986) assumes that the SCL is located on the verb rather than under the subject node, a notion that is supported by complex inversion in French where both a full lexical subject and a clitic appear in the same sentence.

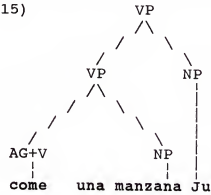
The availability of a clitic-like INFL represents the NS or pro-drop parameter for Burzio (1986). For him, it is the pronominal inflectional element (of INFL) of tensed verbs that generally assigns Case to a subject under government. INFL governs the subject position since the inflectional element moves onto the verb after S-structure (in the phonology).

Hyams' (1986) analysis, follows Chomsky (1982) in that the empty element in subject position in tensed clauses in pro-drop languages is **pro**. She, however, adds a condition that **pro** be governed by AG/PRO. Where AG=PRO, the null element in subject position is licensed and AG is considered pronominal. She refers to this pronominal AG as AG/PRO. The S-structure representation of sentences like **Come una manzana Juan** is

(14) $[_S[e]_{NPi}[_{INFL}][_{VP}$AG+**come una manzana Juan**$_i]]$

while the internal structure of the VP is

(15)



[19]

As discussed in Rizzi (1986) and Jaeggli and Safir (1989), there is a distinction in the distribution between referential and expletive **pro**. Therefore, it seems desirable to separate the licensing requirement from the identification requirement. Licensing involves the questions of whether a language allows null pronouns of any type while identification deals with the issue of how the referential content of **pro** can be determined once it is licensed. Based on Gilligan's (1987) typology of languages, Hermon and Yoon (1989) distinguish four types of languages with respect to whether they allow expletive and referential null pronouns.[20]

Based on the Theta Criterion, Jaeggli and Safir (1989) state that a thematic null subject must be identified. A NSL with thematic null subjects will be one in which it is possible to identify the NS. The distinction between thematic versus expletive NSs is achieved through identification by a head.[21] For Jaeggli and Safir (1989), the class of languages that permit null subjects (or within a language, exactly those

paradigms that permit null subjects) are those with verbal paradigms that are morphologically uniform rather than those whose inflectional system is in some sense "rich" enough to allow null subjects. Jaeggli and Safir (1989) define morphological uniformity as an inflectional paradigm which has either only underived inflectional forms or only derived inflectional forms. They believe that morphological uniformity is the crucial property that determines when null subjects in tensed sentences are licensed. Furthermore, this property makes no connection between the nature of AGR and **pro**-drop, thus avoiding some of the problems faced by agreement-based approaches. In Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) system null subjects are permitted only in languages with morphologically uniform inflectional patterns. In other words, a paradigm is uniform if all its forms are morphologically complex or none of them are. For example, Japanese and Chinese show no number-person inflection at all. Japanese verbal paradigms are inflected for tense/mood/aspect and negation and Chinese shows no inflection affixation whatsoever. However, their respective inflection paradigms are uniform in that all the forms within the paradigm are formed in the same manner. Systems like those found in Spanish and Italian have tensed verbs inflected for number, person, tense and mood where very often every person/number combination has a different ending. Again, the paradigms are uniform. Languages that lack uniformity as a pervasive

property of their inflectional paradigms (such as English, where all the paradigms have some forms which correspond exactly to the stem of the verb) do not allow empty subjects whereas languages with uniform paradigms (such as Spanish and Chinese) do. However, Hermon and Yoon (1989) note that the problem with this hypothesis lies in the fact that as far as licensing is concerned, it is the uniformity of a language as a whole rather than uniformity of a paradigm which determines whether a language allows null pronouns. They suggest the addition of a condition to Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) Morphological Uniformity Principle (MUP) determining uniformity for a language in its entirety. Therefore, in their view, if any certain paradigm in the language is non-uniform, the whole language is taken to be non-uniform.

2.2.5 Free Inversion

Burzio (1986) characterizes two types of inversion: one where the i-subject (inverted subject) is derived by movement and another that is base-generated. In both cases the empty category is properly governed under the pronominal option for INFL. Burzio (1986), like Bouchard (1984), concludes that rightward moved i-subjects are adjoined to VP in order to be governed by the verb. They must only be adjoined to VP in order to be distinguished from direct objects at S-structure.

Safir's (1986) Free-Inversion Parameter (FIP) is an integral part of his explanation of **pro**-drop languages. As formulated by Safir, the FIP states that an impersonal subject

clitic may assign the Case it receives from INFL to an NP it governs. Safir (1986) explains free inversion by the fact that in those languages which allow it, the postverbal subject cannot be inheriting Case from any binder and can only escape the Case Filter if assigned Case directly by government in postverbal position. Thus, the FIP is a means of assigning NOM Case by government to a postverbal position and the postverbal position is assigned a theta role by means of a convention[22] assigning external theta roles. Since Case assignment to the postverbal NP in free-inversion languages need not be by inheritance, the Definiteness Effect (DE) is neutralized and postverbal extractions are permitted because the VP-adjoined position (following Rizzi (1982)) is properly governed. Therefore, free inversion is defined as a construction in which a postverbal subject agrees with the verb and lacking an overt preverbal subject.

2.2.6 Resumptive Pronoun Strategy

Unlike Chomsky (1981) and Rizzi (1982), Bouchard (1984) derives "long **wh**-movement" of the subject and apparent violations of the ***that-t*** filter from his resumptive pronoun strategy rather than from the free inversion property.[23] Since Spanish allows resumptive pronouns, there is no reason why an empty category (EC) resumptive pronoun in the subject position of a tensed clause should not be possible inasmuch as non-lexical pronouns are allowed in that position. Bouchard

(1984) assumes that the empty resumptive pronoun that is in the subject position is related to the **wh**-phrase at LF.

2.2.7 One Parameter or Two?

Safir (1986) assumes that the possibility of postverbal subjects (free inversion) and the null subject phenomenon follow from separate parameters (contrasting with Chomsky (1981), Burzio (1986), Jaeggli (1982), and Rizzi (1982)). Safir (1986) demonstrates that each type of language predicted by the interaction of the two parameters exists.[24] Data from Trentino, Modenese and Portuguese show that the free-inversion property and the missing subject property are independent of one another since languages that lack missing subjects but permit free inversion exist (i.e., the two Italian dialects) and languages that lack free inversion but allow missing subjects such as Portuguese also exist. A revision of the typology of the empty categories as proposed by Chomsky (1981; 1982) and the identification of **pro** as having the distribution of a clitic are among the theoretical consequences of Safir's (1986) analysis.

Hyams (1986), too, states that the possibility of post-verbal subjects (free inversion) and the null subject phenomenon follow from separate parameters. In her analysis, free inversion is related to the parametric variation associated with Rule R, while the possibility of having null subjects follows from the AG/PRO parameter. In separating the

two phenomena, she follows Safir (1986) although they differ in matters of execution.

2.2.8 Identification and Licensing of Null Subjects

Rizzi (1982) observes that in NSLs minimal feature specifications of missing subjects are "recovered" via the verbal inflection. Similarly, Bouchard (1984) explains that the **pro**-drop condition requires that the verbal inflection be rich enough so that certain grammatical features can be assigned to the **pro** subject, so that **pro** and AGR form a sort of discontinuous element.[25] The ECP requires that the EC must be properly governed, either by a governing head (e.g., a verb or preposition) or by a coindexed element in the closest available position, respecting minimality. The latter is termed antecedent government and is more often implicated in ECP violations. However, early work by Chomsky, Bouchard, etc., assumed that null subjects were properly head-governed by INFL, or something like it. Thus, it seems that a referential index (R-index) is an important feature of the internal properties of an EC (if it is derived by movement).[26,27] The grammatical features (F-features) also seem to be relevant for all four manifestations of the EC.[28]

2.2.9 Issues of First Language Acquisition

Hyams (1986) is one of the few that points out that the formulation of UG as a system of parameters makes a strong claim about the role played by the input data in the acquisition process. One prediction attributable to the range

of variation defined by each parameter is that the early grammar of a language may differ from the adult grammar with respect to the value specified for a particular parameter, provided that the value falls within the permitted range. Thus, an early grammar is a "possible" grammar although it is distinct from the adult one. For example, the early grammar of English differs from the adult grammar of English in the value specified along the parameter which Hyams (1986) refers to as the AG/PRO parameter (her version of the **pro**-drop parameter). The difference in parameter settings provides a unified account of many salient properties of early English such as the optionality of lexical subjects and the absence of modals and auxiliaries. This "parameter setting model" predicts that the successive intermediate grammars of a language may differ from one another as well as from the adult grammar of the language. However, the variation which exists falls within narrowly defined limits specified by the system of parameters.[29] From the child's perspective, the goal is to set the parameters of UG in a manner consistent with the data presented.[30] This model helps to explain the absence of numerous logically possible errors which children never make. For Hyams (1986), certain differences in the auxiliary systems of **pro**-drop and non-**pro**-drop languages are closely connected to the null subject phenomenon. In the development of an adult grammar, the child passes through a stage of "subjectless sentences", whether the language is **pro**-drop or

non-**pro**-drop. This same period is also characterized by a lack of two classes of grammatical elements: expletive pronouns and verbal auxiliaries, particularly the modals. In the development of English, subjectless sentences become rare at the same time that the expletive elements **it** and **there** make their first appearance. Shortly thereafter, the modals and **be** are found. This clustering of properties reflect an early grammatical system in which AG = PRO, that is, AG is pronominal, thus making early English a **pro**-drop language. In other words, early English shares three properties with **pro**-drop languages: (1)the lexical subject is optional, (2)the null subject has definite reference, and (3)the absence of full lexical expletives. This being the case, acquisition of a **pro**-drop language in adulthood does not require the acquisition of a new parameter or a new setting, but a return to a previous setting of a parameter already in place.

Safir (1986) assumes that the child learns nothing useful from sentences with full lexical subjects (which are possible in both missing subject languages and non-missing subject languages) when setting the missing subject parameter. Instead, a single tensed sentence without a lexical subject is enough to indicate that missing subjects are possible in the language being learned. As opposed to Hyams' (1986) view, the unmarked option is for subjects NOT to be missing and the child must have positive evidence (a missing subject sentence) to indicate that the parameter must be set in the MARKED

way.[31] Another view is expressed in Hyams and Jaeggli (1987), who start out with a positive setting for the MUP and propose that learning a single non-uniform paradigm will allow children to reset the parameter which licenses null pronouns.

2.2.10 Summary

The concept that seemingly unrelated phenomena could be subsumed under a common explanation was first suggested by Perlmutter (1971), thus introducing into the explanation of grammar what has come to be known as parametric theory. Within GB theory, there has been a variety of opinions as to just which properties constitute what is commonly referred to as the **pro-drop** parameter and what element occupies the subject position in languages that allow missing subjects.

Bouchard (1984), Burzio (1986), Chomsky (1981), Hyams (1986), Jaeggli (1982), Rizzi (1980, 1982), and Safir (1986) unanimously agree that the main characteristics of these languages are missing subjects and free inversion in simple sentences. However, there is disagreement as to the number and identity of the secondary properties and their derivations. Additionally, Hyams (1986) and Safir (1986) separate the parameter into two distinct parameters; one encompassing free inversion and the other missing subjects. Even so, there is agreement among the linguists studied that free-inversion is at the heart of the parameter.

The explanations for postverbal subjects always include the fact that they are located under the VP in an adjoined

structure in order to achieve government by the verb and/or to receive Case assignment. The identity of the missing element in subject position has varied over time. Initially it was believed that the element was [$_{NP}$e]. Analyses by Chomsky (1981) and Rizzi (1980) made PRO the logical choice. However, upon further analysis Chomsky (1982) determined that **pro**, not PRO, was the proper element. Hyams (1986) and Safir (1986) state that it is a phonologically null expletive that appears in postverbal position.

Burzio (1986), Bouchard (1984) and Safir (1986) adhere to Taraldsen's (1978) explanation that the element in preverbal subject position is analogous to a clitic in that the inflectional morpheme of the verb functions as a subject clitic. An additional explanation comes from Jaeggli and Safir (1989), who propose that it is not rich inflection but inflectional uniformity in the verbal paradigm that allows empty subjects.

A variety of explanations and analyses have been offered regarding the identity of the empty subject and its licensing. It is quite evident that additional work remains to be done if linguists are to come to an agreement regarding this aspect of the **pro**-drop parameter.

2.3 **Pro**-drop in Spanish.

2.3.1 Introduction

English requires that every sentence have a subject which must have a phonetic matrix in finite clauses. Spanish has

never had this requirement and allows null subjects not only at S-structure but in D-structure as well. This lack of subject requirement has allowed Spanish to develop a full range of possibilities in both finite and nonfinite clauses, so that all clauses behave alike with regard to the "missing" element(s). The identity of the missing subject and its existence at all levels of analysis have been the subject of much discussion.

2.3.2 Identity of the Null Preverbal Subject

Suñer (1982) believes that there is more than one element capable of occupying the preverbal subject position in Spanish.[32] She disagrees with Taraldsen (1978), who claims that null subjects are nominative null anaphors, thereby base-generating sentences such as *δ* **comen a las diez** ("They eat at ten o'clock.") with a terminally null subject NP. Postulating null subjects in such structures eliminates the parallelism in behavior between matrix and embedded missing elements.[33] Person and number features are present in both the subject and the verb and grammatical gender is manifested in predicate adjectives (Cf. endnote 60). Thus it becomes clear that the subject position has to be occupied by a pronominal (either with or without a phonetic matrix) since the position contains features necessary for the grammaticality and interpretation of the sentence.[34] Infinitival subjects behave in the same way with respect to their agreement with predicate adjectives, so it is reasonable to assume that the same element should be

responsible for the same facts.[35] Thus, Suñer concludes that the subject must be PRO. Another argument for the postulation of PRO as the missing subject element is that it can have disjoint reference with the matrix subject when embedded under a matrix clause.[36] Since coreference takes place at the level of LF, it follows that PRO needs to be present at this stage. However, this analysis implies that PRO receives nominative Case at S-structure and Chomsky (1981) maintains that the theory demands that PRO be ungoverned, thereby unmarked for Case at the level of LF. However, Chomsky also speculates that if Delete-Pronoun Rule applies before LF, then it is possible to have a Case-marked PRO, where PRO loses its features but keeps its index.

She also shows that impersonal sentences whose principal characteristic is that the verbs invariably appear in the third person singular form have nothing in subject position and can be identified with ∅. Sentences of this type never show any kind of nominal subject at S-structure (whether a lexical NP or pronominal) suggesting that the position must be mandatorily and semantically null since it never bears any kind of relationship to the predicate. The behavior of gerundive phrases with impersonal **haber** and that of **haber** and **hacer** in infinitival complements also support the argument for the lack of a subject argument in these sentences.[37] The previous arguments disqualify PRO as the missing element in impersonal sentences while $[_{NP}e]$ is disqualified as a

possibility in sentences with Equi verbs due to a violation of the ECP because there is nothing in the embedded sentence that can govern the empty NP.[38] Since both PRO and [$_{NP}$e] have been eliminated as the subject of these sentences, the remaining alternative is $\emptyset$.[39] The problem that Subject-Verb Agreement poses for this analysis is eliminated by positing that in the absence of a subject NP, when tense is chosen, the verb adopts the form for the unmarked person and number, which in Spanish is third person singular. Therefore, Suñer (1982:68) proposes a straightforward rule:

(16) Interpret S as impersonal in the absence of [NP, S].

Presentational sentences that assert the appearance of the referent of the NP subject have moved the NP to postverbal position by a Subject Postposing rule which, in accordance with trace theory, leaves behind a trace which is coindexed with the moved NP and is unorthodox in that it precedes its "antecedent". The trace in subject position is fully specified because Spanish is able to bind an empty element in subject position through verbal inflection. Thus, the trace is coindexed both with the postposed NP and with AGR. Because [$_{NP}$e] is the missing element in the sentences, subject-verb agreement can be established between the nominative NP and the V, regardless of its position.

2.3.3 Impersonal **se** Constructions

The final element to be identified is that in impersonal **se** constructions (Cf. Otero 1986 for a slightly different

view). Inasmuch as there is no evidence of movement in these sentences, trace can be discarded. However, there is a crucial difference between this impersonal construction and those with **haber** and **hacer** already discussed. Although subject position in all must always be phonologically null, the same is not true of their semantic status. The subject in impersonal **se** constructions is always interpreted as an unspecified human subject since they always depict an act, state or process characteristic of human beings. The null element must bear the feature [+human] and yet be totally unspecified in its reference thus requiring the feature [-definite] or [-specified]. All the evidence points to the identification of the missing element as PRO, where **se** is somehow bound to the subject PRO and the minimally specified PRO makes the verb adopt the form for unmarked person and number. Otero (1986) likewise identifies the subject of **se** constructions as PRO with an arbitrary variable-like interpretation which he labels ARB (arbitrary PRO or EC*).

(17) (a) Copulative
Se es víctima de las circunstancias
("ARB is a victim of circumstances")

(b) Intransitive
Se trató de muchos temas
("ARB dealt with many topics")

(c) Transitive
Se explota a los indefensos
("ARB exploits the defenseless")

(d) Passive
Se es explotado (por los poderosos)
("ARB is exploited (by the powerful)")
(Otero 1986:82)

Otero posits that **se** alters the content of INFL, thereby being the surface manifestation of part of the content of INFL.[40] He attributes the difference in interpretations between an ordinary **pro** (which is a definite empty category) and a finite clause arbitrary empty subject (ARB) to the fact that the INFL node in a sentence containing the former includes [+Def] whereas a sentence with the latter contains the feature [-Def] (Cf. Rizzi 1982).

(18) **Es possible EC INFL comer todos los días.**
("It is possible ARB to eat every day.")
Posiblemente, EC INFL come todos los días.
("Possibly, he/she eats every day.")
(Otero 1986:89)

If it is assumed that **se** is simply a marker of INFL, then the NP associated with **se** can be a derived subject (making any movement of **se** unnecessary) and **se** is a clitic that can be related to subject positions only (that is, to a finite INFL). This empty indefinite pronominal is given the identity **pro*** (arbitrary **pro** or EC*) and is invariably interpreted as indefinite human in both finite and non-finite constructions.

(19) (a) (i) **EC* se llegó a saber PRO estudiar (*se) todos los días**
("ARB came to know how to study every day")
(ii) **EC* se llegó a saber PRO estudiando (*se) todos los días**
("ARB came to know studying every day")
(b) (i) **EC* se insistió en que EC* se estudia todos los días**
("ARB insisted that ARB studies (IND) every day")

(ii) **EC* se insistió en que EC* se estudie todos los días**
("ARB insisted that ARB study (SUBJ) every day")
(Otero 1986:91)[41]

Rigau (1986; 1988; 1990) assumes that in null subject languages strong pronouns occupy the same position as the empty pronoun **pro**. However, the use of strong pronouns implies some kind of intensity or emphasis. Rigau assumes that **pro** and clitic pronouns act in a parallel way (similar to Otero 1986), whereas strong pronouns behave differently in many cases. There are contexts in which strong pronouns are prohibited, such as where **pro** and clitics serve as logical variables at LF, in Left Dislocations where **pro** and clitics may be associated with a topicalized constituent, and as variables bound by a quantifier phrase (QP) (Cf. Contreras 1986 and Luján 1987).[42] The answer to the difference in behavior lies in the fact that the strong pronouns are found in peripheral position (occupying a position adjoined to S or the VP node) which frees them from being bound elements (Cf. Contreras 1986 and Torrego 1984).

Luján (1987) also offers specific evidence regarding the prohibition of strong pronouns in certain contexts. If null pronouns are replaced by overt pronouns, the coindexing possibilities are dramatically altered. Co-reference is not permitted for pronouns in the preposed subordinate clauses, as seen in the contrast between (20a) and (20b).

(20) (a) ***Cuando él trabaja, Juan no bebe.**
("When he works, John doesn't drink.")

***Cada vez que ella pierde, Ana se enoja.**
("Each time she loses, Ann gets angry.")

(b) **Juan no bebe cuando él trabaja.**
("John doesn't drink when he works.")

Ana se enoja cada vez que ella pierde.
("Ann gets angry every time she loses.")
(Luján 1987:24)

The appearance of the overt subject pronouns in the (a) examples creates obligatory disjoint reference whereas this is not the case with the (b) examples. In adjoined clauses, overt pronouns can only be interpreted with disjoint reference with respect to antecedents which precede them while null pronouns behave like English pronouns in that they allow both joint and disjoint reference (Cf. Suñer 1982).

Strong pronouns in Spanish and similar languages not only function like stressed pronouns of non-null subject languages, like English, but the restrictions which are observed are apparent and can be explained as an effect of stress on co-reference. As a matter of fact, there is no doubt that, in Spanish, lexical pronouns are not always phonetic manifestations of null pronouns; overt and null pronouns only have partial coincidental distribution; and, overt pronouns seem to adjust to a precedence restriction. In previous work Luján (1985; 1986) demonstrated that the restrictions of overt pronouns in null subject languages are a manifestation of a more general restriction that stressed pronouns follow in any language. She, therefore, proposes a restriction combining previously proposed restrictions on antecedence and on binding

by a QP: Stressed pronouns can precede an antecedent, or be bound by a QP always and when they do not alternate with unstressed pronouns (Luján 1987:36).

Rigau's (1990) continued work regarding pronouns adds another dimension to the behavior of overt pronouns in Romance. Sentences that form a discourse may be well-formed when analyzed independently, yet may be problematic when looked at in the context of a coherent discourse. The rules and principles or conditions of discourse grammar, which make different uses in discourse possible, begin to act after the syntactic, phonological and semantic rules and principles of phrasal grammar have been applied. The possibility, obligatoriness, and impossibility of overt pronouns in languages which contain both overt and null pronouns are determined by certain discourse conditions. When a discourse element becomes a theme, it is represented by a pronoun; if the element is the subject of a sentence, it is **pro**. An overt pronoun can appear only if one of the following three (functional) conditions obtains: (1)the coreference relationship between the subject pronoun and a discourse element is ambiguous; (2)the pronominal subject must reestablish a momentarily abandoned theme; and (3)the subject position receives emphatic interpretation. Both discourse and pragmatic conditions determine the distribution of the strong pronouns in a well-formed and coherent discourse whose grammar operates with information supplied by the phrasal grammar.

2.3.4 Free versus Obligatory Inversion

As stated in Section 2.2, one of the principal characteristics of null subject languages is free subject-verb inversion in simple sentences. Although Spanish and Italian share this characteristic, the obligatory inversion rule of Spanish does not operate in embedded clauses in Italian, thereby separating the two languages (Torrego 1984). Obligatory inversion is assumed to prepose the verb to S and is required in **wh**-constructions in both main and embedded clauses in Spanish but does not allow **wh**-movement of a complement to a verb from an embedded question whose verb is preposed. Thus, the impossibility of **wh**-extraction in these cases is linked to the obligatory inversion rule. Extraction of verbal complements generated under VP from within an embedded question with obligatory inversion leads to ungrammaticality in Spanish due to ECP violations because the traces (of the complements) fail to be governed.[43]

Torrego (1984) assumes that free subject inversion optionally moves the subject NP to the right and adjoins it to VP (following Rizzi 1982). However, Spanish has a second inversion rule that must always apply when a **wh**-phrase of a certain kind or its trace appears in Comp prior to LF in finite clauses.

(21) (a) **¿Qué querían esos dos?**
("What did those two want?")
(b) ***¿Qué esos dos querían?**

(c) **¿Con quién vendrá Juan hoy?**
("With who will John come today?")
(d) ***¿Con quién Juan vendrá hoy?**[44]

Although obligatory inversion does not apply in the absence of **wh**-movement, free subject inversion is always applicable. Thus, in **¿A quién prestó el diccionario Juan?** ("To whom did John lend the dictionary.")[45] both types of inversion apply.[46] Although obligatory inversion must apply every time a clause is introduced by a **wh**-phrase, only **wh**-phrases that are the thematic arguments of the verb and the subject of S trigger obligatory inversion.

Contreras (1986) shares Torrego's (1984) view that Spanish is a VOS language, even though he disagrees with the existence of a V-preposing rule in Spanish on both theoretical and empirical grounds.[47] His support for the VOS hypothesis is based on the grammaticality of the (i) and (ii) examples in (22a-c) versus the ungrammaticality of the (iii) examples therein, all of which contain bare NPs.

(22) (a) (i) **Quiero café.**
("I want coffee.")
(ii) **Falta café.**
("lacks coffee")
("Coffee is needed.")
(iii) ***Me gusta café.**
("me pleases coffee")
("I like coffee.")
(b) (i) **Quiero tortillas.**
("I want tortillas.")
(ii) **Faltan tortillas.**
("lack tortillas")
("Tortillas are needed.")
(iii) ***Me gustan tortillas.**
("me please tortillas")
("I like tortillas.")

(c) (i) **No creo que haya probado gota de vino.**
("I don't think (s)he has tasted a (single) drop of wine.")
(ii) **No creo que quede gota de vino.**
("I don't think there is a (single) drop of wine left.")
(iii) ***No creo que se acabe gota de vino.**
("I don't think a drop of wine will be finished.")[48]

If Spanish is taken to be a SVO language as normally assumed, then the subject position in (23) would be governed by INFL as would be a Quantifier Phrase (QP) inside the subject NP. (23b) would wrongly be predicted as grammatical since the subject would be ungoverned. However, if it is assumed that Spanish preverbal subjects are adjoined to S in S-structure, the ungrammaticality of (23b) is explained since the subject is ungoverned.

(23) (a) **El café me gusta.**
("the coffee pleases me")
("I like (the) coffee.")

(b) ***[$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{QP}$e café] INFL [$_{VP}$ me gusta]]**
("I like coffee.")[49]

Contreras (1986) takes the opposite position of Chomsky (1981) and Jaeggli (1982) in proposing that the underscored NPs in (22) contain an empty QP and that the ungrammaticality of the (iii) examples is due to the fact that this empty category is not properly governed. Two pieces of evidence are offered in support of the empty QP hypothesis. The interpretation of sentences (22ai) and (22bi) is similar to that of (24a) and (24b), respectively.

(24) (a) **Quiero algo de café.**
("I want some coffee.")
(b) **Quiero algunas tortillas.**
("I want some tortillas.")[50]

Spanish bare NPs cannot receive a generic interpretation that English bare NPs in sentences like "Coffee is expensive." are able to receive. The second piece of evidence that supports the empty QP hypothesis is only relevant to mass nouns such as **café** ("coffee") because there are certain verbs which are incompatible with quantified direct objects headed by mass nouns. Sentences which contain a bare NP, behave in the same manner.[51]

2.3.5 Summary

There seems to be general agreement as to the identity of the empty element in subject position in null subject languages as evidenced by the studies discussed herein. Suñer (1982) concludes that there are three elements able to occupy the position, depending on the construction. Inasmuch as her work was published prior to the advent of **pro**, this particular entity does not enter into her analysis. However, those writing about Spanish null subjects seem to agree that the element in preverbal position is **pro**. Special attention is paid by both Otero (1986) and Suñer (1982) to **se** constructions, and although each uses different terminology, they both agree that the subjects in both finite and infinitival clauses of this type require the features [+Human] and [-Definite]. Although Suñer simply states the necessary characteristics while Otero calls the empty variable-like

element arbitrary PRO (PRO_{arb}) and the empty pronominal arbitrary **pro** ($\mathbf{pro}_{arb}$), both agree that the features are specified on the INFL node. Otero (1986), like Rigau (1986; 1988; 1990) identifies Spanish **pro**'s behavior as parallel to that of clitics. However, Rigau goes one step further in that she explains the behavior of strong pronouns and the environments in which both empty and strong pronouns are permitted to appear and those in which they are prohibited from appearing. Luján (1987) provides evidence to support Rigau's assertions regarding the prohibition of strong pronouns in specific contexts. This includes the hypothesis that the strong pronouns are in an adjoined position (with which Torrego (1984) and Contreras (1986) are in agreement) which frees them from being bound elements. In addition, to explain the possibility versus the impossibility and obligatoriness of strong pronouns, Rigau (1990) analyzes their appearance or absence within the framework of discourse. This provides a functional, rather than a purely syntactic explanation for their behavior. Table 2.1 shows the identities of the Null Subjects as proposed by each of the linguists previously mentioned.

TABLE 2.1

Identity of Null Subjects in Spanish

	Suñer	Otero	Rigau
Luján			
Matrix clauses and Infinitivals pro	PRO		pro
Impersonal Constructions	ø		
Presentational Sentences	[^{NP}e]		
Se constructions	PRO	PRO_{arb} pro_{arb}	

In order to further explain free subject-verb inversion and how it functions in null subject languages, Torrego (1984) claims that in Spanish there exist not one but two inversion rules; one obligatory and one optional. The obligatory rule applies in both matrix and embedded clauses in Spanish, unlike Italian where it applies only in root sentences. This leads Torrego to propose that Spanish is a VOS, rather than SVO, language. Contreras (1986) agrees with Torrego regarding the status of Spanish as a VOS languages although he bases his support on the behavior of bare NPs rather than on Torrego's rule of Verb Preposing. However, both accept that inversion is an integral characteristic of Spanish.

Therefore, it seems clear that the possibility of null subjects and free inversion are linked, lending support to the existence of the Null Subject (**pro**-drop) Parameter in Spanish.

2.4 UG and Parameter Theory in Second Language Acquisition

2.4.1 Introduction

Because my work on **pro**-drop is being carried out within the Principles and Parameters framework and involves the contact between **pro**-drop (Spanish) and non-**pro**-drop (English) languages, it is necessary to involve issues related to both Universal Grammar (UG) and second language (L2) acquisition. The principal issues to be considered in this chapter are the role that negative evidence plays in L2 acquisition (inasmuch as first language (L1) acquisition is claimed to proceed on positive evidence alone), the possible availability of UG during the process of L2 acquisition (since the learner already has access to the L1 grammar), the possibility of parameter resetting during L2 acquisition (as the two languages under consideration differ in terms of this particular parameter), and the notion of markedness and its effect on the acquisition of an L2.

Any theory of language learning must not only provide an explanation of how languages differ but must also explain how these differences in languages can be learned. This is true not only of first language acquisition but of second language acquisition (SLA) as well. The theory of UG, with its interest in predicting and accounting for language variation by its use of parameters, is a potential source of explanation of some of the similarities and differences that have been observed in the SLA of speakers of different first languages

(L1s).[52] However, there has been a division between researchers who believe that the principles of UG are unavailable to the second language (L2) learner (Clahsen 1990; Clahsen & Muysken 1986; Jordens 1991; O'Grady 1991; Schachter 1988, 1989, 1991) and those who believe that UG is available whether in its original state or mediated through the L1 (Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup 1988; Clahsen & Muysken 1989; Eubank 1991; Felix 1988, 1991; Flynn & O'Neill 1988; Gass & Lakshmanan 1991; Hilles 1991; Pankhurst, Sharwood Smith & Van Buren 1988; White 1989, 1990). One group of theories emphasizes the influence of the L1 on the L2 learner (i.e, Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis); another group of theories stresses the learner's ability to focus on L2 data regardless of his L1 background (i.e, Creative Construction Theory).[53]

The L2 learner is faced with a problem similar to that facing the L1 learner; if the L2 learner eventually attains reasonable accuracy in the L2, he ends up with very complex and subtle knowledge for which the input data was insufficiently precise (Cook 1985; White 1985b, 1988).[54] The L1 learner has at his disposal certain universal principles which aid language acquisition and these may still be available in SLA in children and in adults, too, if we assume that they are not deactivated at some critical point.

2.4.2 Other Hypotheses within the Theories of UG and Parameters

A number of ancillary hypotheses have been posited to explain adult SLA within the theories of UG and parameters.

Among them are the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) (Cf. Lenneberg 1967 for the original explanation; Ritchie 1978 and Schmidt 1980 for evidence that the strong form of the hypothesis is untenable)[55] and Hypothesis Testing through feedback (Cf. Cook 1969 and Ellis 1982). The CPH states that after a particular age, the principles and parameters of UG are no longer directly accessible to the learner and that the older L2 learner has no option but to work through his L1 or through a non-language faculty. A reason to discard the CPH is that, by definition, acquisition does not take account of maturational factors. In order to reconcile the CPH with successful L2 learning after the critical period, it has been argued that the L1 acts as a mediator to UG. Within parametric theory, mediation would be successful if the values of the two parameters were the same in the two languages; however, if the L2 learner has been cut off from UG, it is hard to see how the original parameters can be retrieved in order to fix their values differently in the L2. The CPH is disconfirmed by evidence that adults and older children are better than younger children at L2 learning when the circumstances are the same (Cook 1985). Learners after the critical period demonstrate they have access to at least some of the principles of UG.

Hypothesis testing by feedback has been claimed to be the "natural" informal way of learning an L2 while the provision of correction and explanation is an "unnatural" formal way.

Thus, hypothesis testing is acceptable only in the sense that the learner checks positive evidence against a limited set of hypotheses provided by his UG (Cf. Cook 1985 for details).

2.4.3 Negative Evidence

To acquire a language a child not only needs UG but also evidence about the particular language he is learning. The evidence he encounters can be both positive and negative (Chomsky 1981).[56] Positive evidence consists of actual sentences the learner hears and comprehends in communicative use of the language. Negative evidence can be either direct or indirect and consists of information about which strings are ungrammatical. Direct negative evidence consists of corrections of the child's mistakes by adults while indirect negative evidence is provided by the non-occurrence of something in the language being heard. Bley-Vroman (1986) considers a lack of positive evidence as prima facie negative evidence; lack of confirmation serves as disconfirmation. First language acquisition relies chiefly on positive evidence. It seems that the child receives little or no direct negative evidence in the form of correction of the syntax (Braine 1971; Brown and Hanlon 1970).[57]

The relevance of the theory of UG to L2 learning does not depend so much on the uncertain analogy to L1 learning as on the original problem of the poverty of the stimulus; that is, how can a speaker of an L2 know things he could not have learned from experience? (Cf. Cook 1985) The answer to the

puzzle may be caused by differences in the environment; the L2 learner may know things he could apparently not have learned because the situation supplies him with special types of evidence either not available to the native child or not used by him (Cf. McLaughlin 1987). The types of evidence an L2 learner encounters depend more on the type of situation than for the native child; in other words, whether it is a "natural" (informal) situation such as an immigrant using the language for everyday purposes or an "artificial" (formal) situation such as a classroom. In the natural setting the L2 learner meets both positive and negative evidence, since native speakers do modify non-native speech. In the classroom setting, direct negative evidence looms larger since teachers provide frequent and systematic correction. Older classroom learners may also encounter what is termed "explanatory" evidence or explanations of the grammatical rules of the language (Cook 1985).[58] In addition, Schachter (1984) has pointed out that confirmation checks, clarification requests and failures to understand qualify as negative input.[59] She suggests that language learners can be led to appropriate speech in ways other than through explicit corrections. If one accepts a broader definition of negative input, the learnability problem becomes less difficult to solve than UG theory supposes. However, this does not mean that the problem is solved, for it is not entirely clear whether negative

feedback leads to the kind of corrections that are needed (McLaughlin 1987).

Bley-Vroman (1986) provides an explanation of the role of negative evidence in L2 acquisition by arguing that the role of negative evidence is determined by the type of hypothesis the learner is entertaining. Type-N hypotheses require negative evidence while Type-P hypotheses require only positive evidence. In other words, certain hypotheses, in principle, require negative evidence in order for them to be tested, while others do not require negative evidence therefor. The distinction is made on the basis of what information about the target language is necessary to disconfirm the hypothesis if it is false. The relationship is between the IL hypothesis and the necessary target language disconfirming data set. If incorrect Type-N hypotheses are made and if negative evidence is unavailable, then acquisition cannot succeed.[60] Negative evidence is essential for the learner to revise hypothesized rules that are overly general, since these rules will generate all acceptable instances and err only in that they generate unacceptable instances as well (i.e., sentences that fluent speakers find ill-formed) (Bowerman 1988).

2.4.4 The Availability of UG in Second Language Acquisition

The L2 learner has already activated the principles of UG by learning his L1 and many languages differ due to subtle

variations in these universal principles. This has led to the concept of parametric variation introduced by Chomsky (1981; 1982). Setting a parameter in a particular way can potentially entail consequences that demonstrate that apparently unrelated constructions are in fact connected. This concept is particularly attractive since many L2 learners are faced with situations where some principle differs as to the value of the parameter in L1 and L2. Another possibility is that one or the other language may have some principle inactive that is required in the other. The L2 learner will be affected by the parameters already instantiated in his L1 so that he initially carries over the setting he has established for his L1. The fact that positive evidence found in the L1 caused the parameter to be set in a particular way may obscure the fact that positive evidence in the L2 motivates a different setting (White 1985b, 1988). The questions of whether the grammars of L2 learners reflect the principles of UG and whether parameters are still free to be fixed in an L2 from triggering evidence must also be considered (Cook 1985). In fact, one need not go outside UG to look for a source of conflict or competition for the L2 learner; competition can be expected when two languages differ as to the settings adopted for some parameter of UG (White 1985b; 1988). If we take a parameterized UG into account, the following situations can exist and predictions regarding their effect on SLA can be made:

(25) (a) When the L1 and the L2 set the parameter in the same way, there should be no transfer problems and L2 acquisition proceeds in the same way as L1. An example of this situation is a native speaker of Spanish learning Italian since both languages have the **pro**-drop parameter set at the same value.

(b) When the L2 requires a principle to be activated which the L1 has not activated, L2 data will motivate the relevant principle. However, the learner may initially assume that the L2 is like the L1. This is exemplified by a native English speaker learning Spanish since the **pro**-drop parameter is inactive in L1 and must be activated in the L2. Positive data in the L2 will motivate the parameter.

(c) When the L1 and the L2 both instantiate the same principle but the parameter is set in a different way, there will be transfer of the L1 parameter setting until the learner realizes (on the basis of L2 data) that the L2 requires another setting. This situation is represented by an English speaker learning Japanese where word-order parameters in the L1 and L2 differ as to the position of the head.

(d) When the L1 has some parameter set at "+" value where L2 has it set at "-" value, the L1 value for the parameter will transfer until the learner realizes that the L1 parameter is not operative in L2. A native speaker of Spanish learning English finds himself in this situation. The **pro**-drop parameter is active in the L1 but inactive in the L2 so that the learner has to reset the parameter.[61,62]

Where the parameters do not differ or where the L1 has not had some principle activated, L2 acquisition is more likely to proceed along universal lines with the learner's output taking the form of developmental errors. When the parameters differ or have to be reset, the original parameter setting competes with the new one required for the L2, leading initially to transfer errors. It is precisely when the learner must adopt

a more restricted parameter setting into the L2 that resetting does not take place, thereby making invariant principles available to the adult L2 learner from the L1, but not those not instantiated in the learner's L1 (Schachter 1991).[63]

If UG is a characterization of a specific innate system of cognitive structures that enables the learner to master his native language, the question is whether this same system is also operating in the second language learner[64] or whether the L2 learner uses cognitive systems that are partially or totally unrelated to principles of UG.[65] Any type of linguistic knowledge for which there is no evidence in the input data must be attributed to UG, while knowledge related to a particular property of a given language must be derived from environmental data (Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup 1988). Thus, if one accepts that when the adult learner learns an L2 he goes through the entire process of setting parameters relevant for the target language on the basis of positive evidence present in the input, one also accepts the fact that L1 parameters do not affect the setting of the L2 parameters. However, if one rejects this position, the assumption to be made is that there are cases where the learner is faced with a conflict of parameters with respect to a given structure (Cf. White 1985b). The solution to this conflict depends on either the nature of the available feedback (error correction) or metalinguistic explanation.

The incompatibility of parameter settings generates indeterminacy in the interlanguage grammar (IL) grammar and indefiniteness in learners' intuitions until a solution is reached.[66] However, available evidence suggests that certain areas of the grammar may never become determinate in ILs. This is explained by assuming that certain rules have become fossilized in the IL grammar, or in other words, that the grammar reveals permanent parametric variation for those particular areas of the grammar (Sorace 1988). Some researchers believe that although UG is available to adult L2 learners, it is not as freely available as it is to children. In other words, L2 learners might have access to UG either directly or indirectly through the first language. For some, like Felix (1991), there is a surrogate UG based on the first language of the speaker.[67] Felix goes on to say that UG, though accessible in both L1 and L2 acquisition, operates in different ways and under different limitations in the two types of learning processes.

2.4.5 Similar and Different Domains in L1 and L2 Acquisition

One of the central problems in language acquisition concerns the question of whether or not L1 and L2 learning involve the same or different processes and whether UG is accessible to adult language learners. On the basis of analyses that compared utterances produced by L1 and L2 learners with respect to possible structural similarities and or differences (CA), it was found by Bley-Vroman, Felix and

Ioup (1988) that many crucial domains of L2 learners' utterances show structural properties that are very similar or the same as those characterizing the speech of L1 learners.[68] However, despite the number of developmental similarities, it was also found that there are domains in which L2 acquisition differs dramatically from L1. One of the most obvious differences involves the many areas of SLA which are influenced by knowledge of the L1. This results in developmental errors that do not commonly occur in the speech of L1 learners (Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup 1988).

2.4.6 Empirical Verification

Whether or not an L2 learner has access to UG can be empirically tested.[69] For example, if Subjacency is responsible for L1 learners acquiring knowledge of the ungrammaticality of (26b) and (27b), then L2 learners have access to UG iff they also know that these sentences are ungrammatical. Conversely, if an L2 learner systematically fails to acquire this knowledge, then there is good reason to believe that UG is no longer accessible and that only other cognitive modules guide the acquisition process (Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup 1988).

(26) (a) Mary heard the news that John met someone last night.
(b) *Who did Mary hear the news that John met Ø last night?

(27) (a) Mary wonders who did what last night.
(b) *What does Mary wonder who did Ø last night?

Proving the above requires that the mother tongue of the L2 learner be a language in which wh-phrases are not moved in the syntax to sentence-initial position at S-structure (Korean is an example); otherwise, knowledge of the grammaticality contrasts could be due to transfer from the L1 (as in Dutch or German). Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup (1988) show that the nonnative speakers performed significantly better than chance in almost all cases, whether viewed by raw subject score, by sentence, or in terms of contrast.[70] The subjects were clearly not merely guessing at random, something was causing the UG effects. Given their results, it is extremely difficult to maintain the hypothesis that UG is inaccessible to adult learners. They conclude that adults appear to have some sort of access to knowledge of UG and that this knowledge is used in the development of foreign language competence.

However, there remains a question: If access to UG explains why the nonnative speakers did better than chance, what explains why they did not do as well as the native speakers? One possible explanation is that although UG does operate, it does so in an attenuated form.[71] A second possibility is that a different cognitive system (a general problem-solving system) competes with the language acquisition system (Cf. Felix 1985).

2.4.7 The Concept of Markedness

Within parameter theory, the concept of markedness predicts that learners should find the most difficulty with

those aspects of the L2 that are more marked in terms of accessibility than in the L1. Markedness in grammar is clearly not the same as markedness in phonology. The markedness of grammatical and morphological categories have been treated as part of semantic markedness; syntactic markedness being purely a derivative of semantic markedness. In such a framework, the term "syntactic markedness" would be a synonym for "formal marking", used to refer to syntactic or morphological structures that are permutations of other more basic structures. However, the term "syntactic markedness" has also been used to refer to a language-independent ranking of syntactic constructs. Within generative syntax, different conceptions of markedness can be distinguished. In the Standard Theory and Extended Standard Theory versions of this grammar, markedness was sometimes associated with an evaluation metric, making markedness a complexity hierarchy among grammars for different languages. Recent theories of syntactic markedness have put aside the concept of evaluation metric in favor of principles and parameters which associate markedness with degrees of difference from the initial state of the language acquisition sequence (Cf. Rouveret and Vergnaud 1980 and Williams 1981). A second view associates unmarkedness with a set of adult core grammars that are made available biologically and is the relation of a particular construction in a language to the core grammar of that language (Cf. Chomsky and Lasnik 1977). (For details of the

development of current theories of markedness Cf. Battistella 1990).

Kellerman (1979, 1983) invoked the concept of markedness to predict when transfer is likely to occur from the first language. He predicted that more marked structures, that is, those perceived to be more irregular, infrequent and semantically opaque, are less transferable than regular and frequent forms. The Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977) can be interpreted as a continuum from the unmarked (core) to the marked (peripheral) aspects of the grammar. The evidence suggests that the L2 learner operates with a concept of markedness based on closeness to the principles of UG. Although it is plausible that "natural" unmarked forms should be learned before those that are "unnatural" and marked, features of channel capacity, etc., distort the sequence and the actual sequence of development disguises markedness in many ways (Cook 1985).

White (1985b; 1988) proposes that marked forms are more likely to be transferred to the L2 because they have already been motivated in the L1, and the learner fails to notice that the L2 does not contain the marked forms. She also assumes that UG takes into account the existence of transfer errors which are predictable on the basis of parametric variation and which are likely in cases where there is a conflict in the positive evidence available in the L1 and L2.

A similar view is proposed by Liceras (1986) who believes that a new form of contrastive analysis (CA) based on the notion that core grammar and the theory of markedness can serve as a model for the analysis of nonnative grammar and the characterization of permeability. Her study, which was conducted within the framework of Extended Standard Theory (EST), shows that CA can serve as a basis for the construction of a model of the nonnative grammar and consequently predict learners' performance. The EST model allows much more detailed comparison among closely related languages because it isolates the parameters according to which they may differ while at the same time it contains technical devices that allow the discovery of complexes of properties which differentiate otherwise similar languages. Within this model, as in the model of Principles and Parameters, the child approaches learning the language with UG and an associated theory of markedness. The theory of markedness has the functions of imposing a preference structure as to the properties of UG and allowing the extension of core grammar to a marked periphery. The core/periphery distinction can be viewed as a methodological device to propose theoretical principles that can be empirically tested, although the core parameters make predictions which may have counter-examples (some features of the peripheral grammar) (Liceras 1986).

Therefore, if we assume that a model of SLA should take into consideration UG, the L1 and the structure of L2, then marked elements both in L1 and L2 should have special status in the nonnative grammars. The structure preferences and implicational relations among the parameters of the core grammar should be reflected in the nonnative grammar. CA shows the nature of parametric variation allowed by the systems of rules and principles of sentence grammar. To the extent that CA is based on principles that are considered part of UG, it will serve as a source for some predictions regarding the form of nonnative grammars.

2.4.8 The Role of Interlanguage in Second Language Acquisition

If learners' systems have an identity of their own, then the appropriate way to analyze the grammar is a theoretical model containing a universal basis for comparison that can determine how the principles of the universal component are realized in both L1 and L2 and the interlanguage (IL).[72] Language universals play a leading role in determining where transfer occurs and that the likelihood of transferability of linguistic phenomena must take into account both target language facts and rules of UG (Gass 1979).

2.4.8.1 According to White (1985b, 1988), UG predicts a network of related changes in learners' grammars as the learner switches from the L1 parameter to that required in the L2. She assumes that at all stages of the L2 acquisition process, the L2 learner tries to come to terms with the L2

data and to construct a grammar to account for that data. One of the L2 learner's tasks is to impose structure on the L2 input. White also proposes that all structures related by a parameter are connected in the IL of the learner and that changes in one of them will affect the others.

2.4.8.2 The concept that not only the final grammar is governed by principles of UG, but that all interim grammars must also adhere to these principles can be applied to SLA since L2 learning is seldom complete. Few L2 learners ever approximate native competence; all of their grammars are ILs and they obey the principles of UG (Cook 1985).

2.4.8.3 In order to further test these hypotheses, Hilles' (1991) examined the IL of six native speakers of Spanish learning English to determine whether they have access to UG (more specifically, Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) Morphological Uniformity Constraint (MUP)). Her data indicates a strong correlation between the emergence of pronominal subjects and inflection, suggesting that the acquisition of three of the learners (the two very young children and one adolescent) is guided by the MUP (a proposed principle of UG). In other words, their SLA is guided by UG. The data on the second adolescent and the two adults also provides a very clear answer: There is no evidence of access to UG. The second question she addresses is whether access to UG implies access to the default values of UG or to the L1 values. Again, the answer is not straightforward. The

crucial distinction here is whether null subjects are topic identified or AGR-identified. Although the identifier of choice is a matter of speculation, Hilles takes the position (based only on speculative evidence) that access to the default values of UG best accounts for the data with respect to the children and one adolescent. The answer, although not as tidy as we might like, does suggest that a possible metric for capturing access to UG in learning English as L2 is topic identification of null subjects in early IL (Cf. Hilles 1991 for details of the study).[73]

2.4.8.4 Liceras (1986) believes that there are two different approaches to the analysis of IL: one which attempts to discover learning or communication strategies and one that approaches the analysis of IL as a linguistic system **per se**. To explain the differences between these approaches, Liceras follows Kellerman (1977) in distinguishing transfer from interference in that interference has no psychological implication (it refers to the occurrence of errors in the IL that can be attributed to the influence of the native language) whereas transfer is the psychological process by which the learner incorporates native language features into his IL production. Because an approach to the study of learning problems through error analysis alone is untenable, a mixture of CA, error analysis and comprehension testing is needed (Liceras 1986).

2.4.8.5 Like Liceras, Sorace (1988) is concerned with nonnative grammars as she explores the nature of nonnative intuitions of grammaticality, their development in the process of adult SLA and their use in the determination of IL competence. Inasmuch as the role of native intuitions plays a major role in linguistic theory, a clearer understanding of the cognitive factors involved in the formation of these intuitions and their expression through judgments is needed in order to dispel the criticisms that have been made against the validity of linguistic intuitions. It is crucial to ensure that such judgments actually tap the speaker's internalized grammar since the assumed correspondence between intuitions and underlying grammar has been the target of some objections.[74]

Earlier research suggests that native speakers tend to rely on the same grammar for those sentences that they accept as well-formed and those that they are able to produce. These results are enough to eliminate the hypothesis that there is complete independence between linguistic competence and intuitional processes. Since there is interaction of other cognitive and pragmatic systems with the grammar, it seems reasonable to conclude that intuitions reflect knowledge of the grammar (although perhaps only partially) and that the interference of extragrammatical factors can be controlled (by careful selection of test sentences and design as well as informants) (Sorace 1988). Based on this notion, and the fact

that native speakers do not always agree on the acceptability of all areas of language, we can assume that speakers disagree in their intuitions because they do not share the same grammar. We can account for this disagreement by acknowledging that native language grammars are indeterminate and that indeterminacy is a characteristic of natural languages, thereby making structures not simply grammatical or ungrammatical, but (un)grammatical to a degree. Parametric theory accounts for this native language indeterminacy in a more satisfactory way than earlier attempts. As a result of the fact that children may not be exposed to crucial evidence needed to set a particular parameter, some areas of the grammar may contain permanent variability which leads to inconsistencies in native speakers' intuitions (Sorace 1988).

Intuitions and judgments are not the same although they are often used interchangeably. Intuitions are not directly accessible; they can only be expressed through the mediation of judgments, which are linguistic descriptions. It should be possible, then, to measure intuitions of degrees of grammaticality against some independently established grammaticality scale. For SLA, this can be accomplished by measuring IL intuitions against the target language norm (Sorace 1988). Thus, there exists a relationship between learners' grammatical judgments and the transitional state of their IL knowledge and between learners' judgments and their actual intuitions. If extralinguistic variables can be

controlled, IL judgments actually reflect IL knowledge on the part of nonnative speakers. Although native intuitions cannot be measured against an independently established criterion of correctness, nonnative intuitions can be evaluated against the standard provided by the grammar of the target language. The pervasiveness of indeterminacy is what characterizes IL grammars and distinguishes them from native ones. The indefiniteness of IL rules leads to the learner's inability to express clear-cut judgments of grammaticality.

One of the factors contributing to IL indeterminacy is the permeability of IL grammars, that is, the ability of other linguistic systems to penetrate them.[75] Sorace assumes that permeability is a crucial property of IL competence which is necessary for acquisition to take place. It generates indeterminacy by creating the conditions for the coexistence of more than one rule for the same aspect of the grammar. This can involve rules from different linguistic systems or those belonging to successive stages of IL development. In either case, the result is variability or indecisiveness in learners' intuitions.

It appears that there are two ontogenically and functionally different cognitive systems that shape adult SLA and contribute to IL indeterminacy.[76] To the extent that ILs are natural languages which fall within the range of possible grammars allowed by UG, learners' intuitions will also vary around a limited number of possible alternatives. On the

other hand, to the extent that ILs are determined by the problem-solving faculty, learners' intuitions will be more idiosyncratic and unpredictable in form (Sorace 1988).

2.4.9 Other Systems Responsible for Second Language Acquisition

There are theories that place the responsibility for SLA on systems other than UG. Cognitive systems (Cf. Ellis 1985; Gass and Ard 1980; Hulstijn and Hulstijn 1984; Tarone 1982) and Eckman's (1977) Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH) are but two. The role of cognition in L2 acquisition is different from its role in L1 acquisition since the learner is not necessarily subject to the same maturational constraints that children are. In principle, explanatory evidence is available to older L2 learners in formal settings in a way that it is not to the child learning L1, as emphasized by cognitive code learning (Carroll 1965) and the Monitor Model (Krashen 1981). The formula that L2 learning equals acquisition, rests upon the assumption that the channel capacity for language use depends on maturation and does not need to be reacquired in the L2. However, some aspects of channel capacity are not transferred to the L2 because they are in some way dependent on the L1. Saying that L2 development is acquisition minus maturation is not the same as saying that it is acquisition minus limitations upon channel capacity. The problem is discovering which cognitive processes need to be re-established in the L2 and which can be transferred. The conclusion is that development is not

necessarily reliable evidence for acquisition in the L2; the L2 sequence of development may reflect the re-establishing of channel capacity for using the language, rather than actual language acquisition (Cook 1985). The MDH states that when an area of the target language is different from the native language and more marked, it will be difficult; those areas that are different but not more marked than the native language will not be difficult. The relative degree of difficulty corresponds to the relative degree of markedness. However, according to Kellerman (1979) the data from the research of various linguists (Eckman 1977; Gass 1979; Keenan and Comrie 1977; and Schachter 1974) casts doubt on MDH. Kellerman states that there is no satisfactory definition of difficulty because it has not been established whether the degree of difference can be equated to degree of difficulty, whether error equals difficulty or whether markedness hierarchies can predict difficulty. However, difficulty can be looked at as a difference in perception. Regardless of the definition used, it is obvious that the learner's system differs from the L2 system (Liceras 1986).

2.4.10 Summary

The four main issues posited at the beginning of this chapter are yet to be settled. Opinions vary as to what constitutes negative evidence and the role that it plays in L2 acquisition. For some (Bley-Vroman, Cook, Schachter, etc.), negative evidence is necessary for L2 acquisition to proceed

while for others (i.e., Bowerman, McLaughlin), this evidence is irrelevant. Inasmuch as children receive primarily positive evidence in L1 acquisition (Brown and Hanlon, Braine), reliance on negative evidence is one of the areas where L2 differs from L1 acquisition. The possible availability of UG during the process of L2 acquisition is also an issue that has caused wide debate. There are those who believe that UG is available to the L2 learner, either directly or mediated through the L1 (Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup, White, Hilles, etc.) while others believe that L2 acquisition entails strategies and systems other than UG (Clahsen and Muysken, Schachter, O'Grady, Jordens, etc.). There are differing viewpoints as to the possibility of parameter resetting during L2 acquisition. Where both languages (L1 and L2) set the parameter in the same way or where the L1 has not had some principle activated, L2 acquisition is more likely to proceed along universal lines, as in the L1. However, when the parameter settings of the L1 and L2 differ and have to be reset, the original setting competes with that of the L2, initially leading to transfer errors. The notion of markedness has caused much debate within the L2 acquisition research. For Kellerman, this concept predicts that unmarked structures (those that are regular and frequent) are more transferrable than marked forms (those which are irregular, infrequent or semantically opaque) whereas for White and Liceras the marked forms are more likely

to be transferred and will have special status in the nonnative grammar constructed.

Regardless of differences in description and execution, the picture of L2 learning is that the learner contributes a set of language principles and unfixed parameters which the evidence he encounters enables him to fix, thereby creating a new grammar. The ILs created in the acquisition process, as well as the final (target) grammar all fall within the range of possible human languages and obey the principles and constraints of UG. While his first grammar affects his acquisition, it cannot help acquire those parts of the grammar that vary from one language to another. When he encounters evidence that does not fit UG, he must adopt more marked solutions in order to continue the process of second language acquisition.

2.5 Pro-drop and Second Language Acquisition

2.5.1 Introduction

One of the parameters that has received much attention in SLA research is the **pro**-drop (or null subject) parameter. This can be attributed to the facts that (1)**pro**-drop is one of the few proposed parameters that has been studied in any detail and (2)it would seem that the results of contact between a **pro**-drop and a non-**pro**-drop language would be very easy to observe. Languages are said to vary with respect to whether they instantiate the [+**pro** drop] value, which allows missing subjects and, depending on the formulation of the

theory, possibly free subject-verb inversion, that-trace effects, etc., or the [-**pro** drop] value, which allows neither null subject pronouns nor the other syntactic phenomena commonly associated with the "Null-Subject Parameter". A major question for L2 acquisition is "How do learners move from a [+**pro** drop] language to a [-**pro** drop] language and vice versa?" More specifically, some questions to be considered are (1)Does the L1 parameter setting predominate over a supposedly universal setting of the parameter (assuming that there is a conflict between the two predictions)?; (2)Do learners easily manipulate two opposite parametric settings, or is there "leakage"?; (3)If there is a carryover, does it persist even when stable and relatively balanced bilingualism is achieved?; (4)Is it "easier" to go from **pro**-drop to non-**pro**-drop, or vice-versa?; and (5)Can negative evidence ever play a key role in L2 acquisition?

Within the parameterized framework, the same linguistic universals can account for both the similarities and differences in L2 acquisition by native speakers of many different backgrounds. UG may be able to explain and predict incidences of interference from the L1, so that language transfer falls within the scope of explanations of L2 acquisition that are oriented towards linguistic universals. In other words, the parametric approach attempts to reduce the differences between English and Spanish to whether or not the **pro**-drop parameter is activated. For the child learning

Spanish as an L1, the parameter is motivated on the basis of data exemplifying a positive setting of the **pro**-drop parameter.[77] On the other hand, a child learning English as an L1 will have a negative setting for the parameter because he never hears the triggering evidence which would justify a positive setting (White 1985a, 1986). Spanish-speaking adults learning English as an L2 have a positive setting for the **pro**-drop parameter in their L1 and must now learn an L2 where the opposite setting obtains. According to White, rather than being able to bring UG directly to bear on the L2 data, the learner treats the L1 data as supplying evidence about L2 and hence the L1 setting predominates initially and transfer errors are expected.

Williams (1987) points out that the setting of parameters itself might be contingent on development that is not parametric in nature. Although Williams is referring to first language acquisition in this statement, this may also apply to second language acquisition, as suggested by Liceras (1989). Liceras (1988) suggests that the setting of a parameter may be triggered by structural properties of the language in question rather than being enabled or hindered by the L1 setting of the parameter under consideration.

There seems to be little agreement in the literature with respect to whether the Spanish parameter setting is the unmarked one. Hyams (1986) supports the view that Spanish (and Italian) represent the unmarked option on the basis that

a child learning English as the L1 drops subject pronouns until the expletives **it** and **there** and lexical material in AUX become part of the grammar. Hyams believes that children do not need negative evidence to assume that missing pronouns are not permitted in English because the expletives and the lexical material (modals) in AUX act as the trigger to set the parameter as [**-pro**-drop]. In the case of children learning Spanish, the opposite would occur and they would continue to produce sentences with missing subjects since neither expletives nor modals are found in Spanish.

Berwick (1985) and Wexler and Manzini (1987), by means of the Subset Principle, state that when two settings of a parameter give two different languages (L1 and L2) and if the L1 is a subset of the L2, then the default (that is, the initial or unmarked) setting should be the one given the smaller language. Baker (1979) holds a traditional non-negative evidence viewpoint in which the Spanish-speaking children have to change the initial parameter setting (which for Baker is **-pro**-drop) upon encountering sentences with a missing subject. This viewpoint is maintained by stating that it would be impossible to determine how many instances of overt subject pronouns an English-speaking child would have to encounter to reset the parameter to non-**pro**-drop if the situation were reversed.

Therefore, all other things being equal, if the cluster of properties proposed for the **pro**-drop parameter is indeed a

manifestation of parametric unity, and if the choice of the particular parameter triggers a range of superficially unrelated consequences for acquisition, then the mastery of one aspect of the parameter should also ensure mastery of the others (Cf. Liceras 1989 for details).

2.5.2 Resetting the **Pro**-drop Parameter

L2 learners are often in a situation where the value for a parameter in the L2 differs from the value instantiated in the L1. This situation allows for the investigation of whether L2 learners are able to reset parameters for any new language or whether they transfer the L1 parameter setting, changing to the relevant setting for L2 only when they encounter evidence that suggests that the L1 value for the parameter is inappropriate.

White (1985a) interprets the fact that the Spanish speakers learning English carried over the setting for the **pro**-drop parameter from their L1 to the L2 as evidence that adult learners from a [+ **pro**-drop] L1 background (such as Spanish) who are acquiring an L2 which instantiates the [- **pro**-drop] setting (such as English) will initially transfer the L1 value and find it difficult to reset the parameter to match the value of the L2.[78]

On the other hand, Liceras (1988, 1989) suggests that the properties that cluster around a given parameter may not constitute a global learning unit for L2 learners. That is, the acquisition of a given property does not, or may not,

necessarily trigger the setting of the parameter as a whole. Resetting a parameter cannot be thought of as a straightforward task because it involves learning the properties of a given category as well as the idiosyncratic features of a particular construction. White's technique showed that the non-occurrence of one property is not sufficient to trigger loss of the other properties, indicating that learners may require separate evidence for each aspect of the parameter. This conclusion seems to be further confirmed by the investigation of the properties of the **pro**-drop parameter from the point of view of the acquisition of a **pro**-drop [+PD] language such as Spanish. The resetting of the parameter that identifies a language as [+PD] poses the following questions: (1)Will speakers of a non-**pro**-drop [-PD] language "realize" that Spanish is a [+PD] language with respect to all properties[79] or will they require separate evidence for some (or each) of the aspects of the parameter?[80] (2)Are subjects in command of the stylistic conventions which govern the presence of overt subject pronouns in Spanish? and (3)Is there any relationship between the syntactic resetting of the **pro**-drop parameter and the subjects' overall grammatical and stylistic competence in Spanish? For Liceras (1988), the stylistic component of the language (that is, ambiguity, redundancy, facilitating the process of information, and emphasis, etc.) regulates the presence of missing pronouns and inversion, while pleonastic

pro, **that-t** violations and some cases of inversion are regulated at the syntactic level. Liceras follows Chomsky in her definition of linguistic competence.[81]

The results of Liceras' (1988, 1989) studies determine that the same factors that account for the presence of subject pronouns in the native system account for their presence in the nonnative system.[82] The data show that both the native and nonnative Spanish speakers in the study were in command of the stylistic conventions which govern the presence of overt subject pronouns in Spanish. The results also confirm previous findings which indicate that inversion and **that**-t may not be properties of the **pro**-drop parameter, or at least not properties that can be "identified" as such by L2 learners. In fact, Liceras suggests that inversion may be triggered by structural properties of Spanish such as the need to have the preposition "a" before [+human] direct objects.[83] For Liceras, it is very problematic to establish a causal relationship between the acquisition of **pro**-drop, pleonastic **pro** and verb inflection and she finds that nothing proves that it is the lack of expletives that has triggered the acquisition of **pro**-drop.

Hilles (1986), following Hyams (1983), found **pro**-drop in the initial stages of her subject's IL as well as coincidence in the emergence of expletives, lexical material in AUX and decrease of **pro**-drop. In order to test her predictions,[84] Hilles analyzed the transcripts of the IL of a longitudinal

SLA study carried out by Cancino, et al. (1978). Of the six speakers involved in the previous study, Hilles chose Jorge, a 12-year-old Colombian, because he spoke relatively little English at the onset of the Cancino, et al. study and was fairly proficient by its end. Jorge had a minimum of formal instruction and was a [+PD] L1 speaker learning a [-PD] L2. Each of the twenty one-hour transcripts was studied individually and all instances of missing subjects noted. All contexts in which **pro**-drop would have been acceptable had the text been in Spanish were marked. Instances of "I don't know", the segments in which the informant played "Twenty Questions" and did questioning, and answers totally in the L1 were excluded for the purposes of the **pro**-drop calculations. Additionally, missing expletives and situations in which **pro**-drop would be acceptable in English were also omitted.[85] Because it is impossible to specify an "obligatory context" for modals, and because the existence of them in the IL doesn't necessarily indicate the presence of auxiliaries, the growth of lexical material in AUX could not be measured directly. However, it could be done indirectly by investigating Jorge's negation. Lexical material in AUX was displayed in the two negative strategies of **analyzed don't** and **AUX-neg** where the negator was placed post-AUX. These two combined provide an indicator of the presence of lexical material in AUX. The data show that **pro**-drop diminishes with the emergence of lexical material in AUX and provides support

for considering IL as a natural language subject to the constraints of UG and for viewing UG as a parameterized system. It appears that the setting of a parameter of UG, such as **pro**-drop, also affects seemingly unrelated elements in the grammar such as the emergence of modals. Hilles' data also indicate that perhaps expletives do act as a trigger in SLA as has been posited for L1 acquisition. There is a marked difference in the behavior of **pro**-drop in Tapes 1-5 and that in Tapes 6-19. Expletives first appear in Tape 6 where a marked decrease in **pro**-drop is noted. Although it appears that Hilles' (1986) data bear out or add support to her (and Hyams' 1983) predictions, this may neither be an indication of the triggering value of expletives nor of the status of **pro**-drop as the unmarked option. In fact, Liceras (1988, 1989) believes that the missing pronouns of the initial stages could be due to transfer from Spanish. Furthermore, the fact that a given construction is not used does not necessarily mean that it does not exist in the IL of the individual.

Chomsky (1982) and Hyams (1983) argue that the unmarked setting of the **pro**-drop parameter is that found in Italian and Spanish while White (1985a, 1986) assumes that it is marked. Phinney (1987) agrees with Chomsky and Hyams. She posits that English subjects learning Spanish are going from a marked setting to an unmarked setting. Phinney (1987) supports her position by presenting data from Spanish speakers learning English (both from her own study and those previously

published) which seem to indicate that the cost of resetting the parameter from Spanish to English is high. The data from English speakers learning Spanish clearly show that the **pro**-drop parameter is easy to acquire even when the L1 utilizes the non-**pro**-drop setting. Most of the students in the Spanish as a Second Language group showed no reluctance to omit subject pronouns. Phinney (1987) also adds that her results support the view that a learner going from the unmarked setting to the marked setting of a parameter requires a great deal of substantiating evidence and that, therefore, it is more difficult than going from the marked to the unmarked setting of the same parameter. Her data thus support the hypothesis that the unmarked version of the parameter is that used by Spanish.

White (1985a, 1986, 1987) agrees that resetting the parameter from Spanish to English is difficult. Native speakers of Spanish learning English were found to assume that English has a number of **pro**-drop characteristics while the French speakers did not. Missing pronouns were not definitively eradicated until negative evidence was available because going from the marked to the unmarked setting requires negative evidence. Otherwise the learner would never get the necessary data to trigger the appropriate setting. However, Liceras (1986) suggests that marked constructions in the L1 will not cause interference because the evidence needed to fix the parameter in the L1 makes speakers aware of the marked

status of the constructions. On the other hand, Phinney (1987) interprets these results as confirmation that resetting from the unmarked (Spanish) to the marked (English) option requires more positive evidence than vice versa.[86] Thus, L2 acquisition of **pro**-drop according to Liceras (1989) can be summarized as follows:

(1) Resetting the **pro**-drop parameter from English (or French) to Spanish is not difficult with respect to null subjects. Pleonastic **pro** is incorporated in the learner's IL at very early stages. No transfer from the L1 (in this case English or French) should be expected.

(2) Verb-subject inversion and **that**-t effects do not seem to have the same status as null subjects in the IL grammars.

(3) Given the fact that both English and French are non-**pro**-drop languages, no differences between the two groups should be found with respect to the various properties of the parameter.

Liceras (1988, 1989) states that her results indicate that most Spanish L2 learners having English as an L1 do not start with the L1 setting in the case of null subjects. That is, the non-**pro**-drop option of English is seldom transferred to the IL. However, the observations of most teachers of Spanish in the United States would refute this conclusion. English-speaking students of Spanish must constantly be

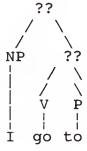
reminded, especially at the beginning levels, that subject pronouns are not only not obligatory but unnecessary except in special circumstances (see Section 2.2.1 for details). Liceras (1989) takes her results as providing evidence for the unmarked status of the **pro**-drop option. For her, subject-verb inversion and **that**-t effects do not have the same status as null subjects in the IL grammar; however, the reason may not necessarily be parametric in nature. The results also indicate that non-parameterized aspects of the grammar may contribute to the difficulty of inversion and **that-t**. In other words, the three properties still form a parameter which is set, although its instantiation in a given construction may be conditioned by other aspects of the grammar. This aspect of Liceras' studies is problematic in that it changes the definition and functioning of the concept "parameter". If the three properties form a parameter, then their appearance in any construction in the language cannot be conditioned by any other aspect of the grammar. As commented earlier, if these three characteristics form a parameter, either all of them are operational or none of them is; they cannot be individually conditioned within the parameter if it is to function as a unit.

Quite a different point of view is expressed by O'Grady (1991), who does not rely on the (in)accessibility of UG as an explanation for the acquisition of **pro**-drop in SLA. He explains that there are computational reasons why someone

attempting to learn a new system of sentence formation would choose to drop subjects rather than, say, objects of a preposition. These reasons have to do with constituent structure and the rules that form it. Thus, while there is a category (i.e., VP) corresponding to an utterance that is missing a subject (see (28a)), there is no category corresponding to one that is missing the object of a preposition (see (28b)).

(28) (a)

(b)



(O'Grady 1991:345)

A second explanation is based on the fact that if the learner (through the language acquisition device) sets out to discover the combinatorial properties of phrase types in the L2 without regard for what has been discovered in the L1, he will have to retrace the steps taken in order to learn the L1. In other words, due to ignorance of the relevant morphological contrasts, he will initially be unable to distinguish between those VPs that have the subject-taking property and those that do not. Therefore, he will conclude that verbs optionally take subjects in English, thus simulating the L1 **pro**-drop phenomenon. However, if one considers Hilles' (1991) data, there is a third possibility; that the learner could simply

be assuming the result obtained in dealing with the L1 (in this case, Spanish) which does not require overt subjects. Therefore, O'Grady concludes that the claim that **pro**-drop in L2 learning provides support for the accessibility of UG to L2 learners can be questioned on at least these two grounds.

2.5.3 Transfer Errors in Parameter Resetting

Adults learning an L2 have particular problems when their L1 has set a parameter of UG to a value which does not correspond to that in the L2 (White 1985a) and because they carry the parameter over from the L1 to the L2, transfer errors are caused. Spanish-speaking adults learning English as an L2 are in the position of having had the **pro**-drop parameter set to a positive value in their L1 and are learning a language where it has the opposite value. Two questions arise in these circumstances: (1)Is the carrying over of a parameter of the L1 a potential source of transfer errors? and (2)Will evidence as to the non-occurrence of one of the properties of the parameter be sufficient to trigger loss in the other areas subsumed by the parameter in question or will the L2 learner require separate evidence for each aspect of the parameter? In order to answer these questions, White posits two related hypotheses: (1)a situation where some L1 parameter does not have the same value in the L2 will require the learner to change the L1 parameter setting, leading at least initially to the carrying over of L1 structures into the L2, and (2)in resetting a positive value in the L1 parameter

to a negative setting in the L2, all aspects of the parameter should be reset together.[87] Her results suggest that Spanish students do carry the pro-drop parameter into English, especially at lower levels of proficiency, and that certain aspects of the parameter are more subject to transfer than others. In the case of missing subject pronouns, Spanish participants failed to notice the incorrectness of sentences where the subjects were missing. They were more likely than the French controls (whose L1 is also a non-pro-drop language) to accept an ungrammatical English sentence with a missing subject. The judgments on subject-verb inversion show no significant difference in the responses of the two groups. Simple sentences with verb-subject word order were recognized as ungrammatical almost without exception by the participants of both groups at all levels of proficiency. However, White found that the realization that English does not omit subjects and does not allow VS word order does not lead to the realization that the complementizer **that** must be absent when extracting subjects of embedded clauses. Failure to realize the latter might simply stem from a lack of mastery of embeddings in general. However, if one looks at missing subjects and inversion, both of which are relevant to simple sentences, the results do not clearly indicate that the loss of these two aspects of the parameter go hand in hand.

The results from the sentences lacking subject pronouns reveal that the L1 parameter setting effectively has to be

changed and that transfer errors will arise in such circumstances. It appears that transfer may be persistent since there is no clear-cut evidence of continuing improvement with increased level of proficiency (White 1986).[88] White's results seem to indicate that the omission of subject pronouns in the L2 is a direct consequence of having an L1 where such an omission is also possible and that the kind of pronoun involved, whether personal or impersonal, does not make a difference. The extraction of subjects from embedded clauses shows differences between Spanish and French speakers in the predicted direction. The Spanish speakers were more inclined to accept and produce **that**-trace sequences than were the French speakers. If the L1 had no effect, one would expect both groups to behave in the same manner. The fact that French is also a non-**pro**-drop language and does not allow **that**-trace sequences seems to have aided those speakers.[89,90] The one aspect of the **pro**-drop parameter which seemed to cause no problems was the ungrammatical VS word order, which was rejected with a high degree of accuracy, suggesting that the three aspects of the parameter do not have the same status in the IL of Spanish speakers.

There are two implications of the failure of Spanish speakers to accept VS sentences while at the same time accepting sentences with missing pronouns. First, the parameters of UG proposed to account for L1 acquisition of a number of related structures are not, in fact, relevant to L2

acquisition. Second, structures related by one parameter may be crucially ordered with respect to one another, so that acquisition of one depends on the prior acquisition of another. One could also assume the inverse, that the loss of one aspect (in this case the possibility of VS) is necessary before loss of the rest (missing subjects and **that**-trace sequence) (White 1986).[91] The overall conclusion reached is that UG itself provides a form of competition in that the L1 parameters influence the adult learner's view of the L2 data, at least for a while. It is this influence from the L1 which leads to transfer errors.[92]

A similar view is expressed by Phinney (1987) who believes that the setting and resetting of parameters is necessary for both L1 and L2 acquisition. Since it has been assumed that the possible settings of the parameter can be ranked on a scale of markedness and that the initial state of the acquisition device entails that all parameters are set to the unmarked setting, to reset a parameter to a more marked setting requires specific input data which serve to confirm that the parameter in question is indeed marked in that language. If the language utilizes the unmarked setting, then the initial assumptions will be met by the input data and the parameter will not be changed. A construction or a parameter setting which is unmarked should be relatively easy to acquire and should be acquired at an early stage, everything being equal; constructions and parameters which are marked should

cause more difficulty and be acquired later. The same process must hold to a certain extent in acquiring the L2. Parameters may have to be reset according to the data available from the L2. She presents evidence from the L2 acquisition of English and Spanish to support the claim that parameter resetting must occur in L2 acquisition and that a delay in resetting the parameter will induce systematic errors in the L2 learner's production. She also suggests that markedness considerations can account for directional differences in difficulty. In other words, parametric variation offers a potential explanation of transfer errors, with the native speakers of **pro**-drop languages transferring that parameter to the L2.

If L2 learners can reset parameters to a neutral setting, then they may start off with the unmarked value for a parameter in L2, regardless of its value in L1. However, if the learner cannot immediately reset the parameter to a neutral setting, certain problems arise in the situation where the L1 has the marked value and the L2 the unmarked which do not arise when the situation is reversed. While the precise influence of the markedness value of the parameter in the two languages is debatable, it seems clear that different markedness values in the two languages can lead to predictions concerning the directionality of difficulty (Cf. Phinney 1987 and White 1987 for details). For Liceras (1989), non-parameterized aspects of language may also permit hierarchies of difficulty that are not accounted for by the theory of

markedness. However, the existence of a marked option implies that L2 learners may start with the unmarked option regardless of their L1. Her investigation of the setting of the **pro**-drop parameter by English and French speakers learning Spanish elucidates the relationship between parameterized and non-parameterized aspects of the grammar. Liceras suggests that the acquisition in Spanish of the three properties associated with **pro**-drop may be related in that acquiring the first property is a condition for acquiring the other two.[93] For her, specific structural properties of Spanish (i.e., the requirement of **"a"** preceding [+human] direct objects) and the complexity of certain syntactic mechanisms play an important role in the acquisition of inversion and **that**-t effects. In addition, she posits that the L2 acquisition data in her study favor the hypothesis that Spanish represents the unmarked option for the parameter and that L2 learners do not necessarily start with the L1 setting of the parameter if the L2 option is the unmarked one. Furthermore, there may be an implicational hierarchy relating the three properties of the parameter so that if **that**-t has been acquired, inversion and null subjects will have been acquired too.[94]

2.5.4 Summary

Languages are said to vary along parameters which give them their individual characteristics while sharing a number of rules applicable to all. The setting of parameters in both the L1 and L2 have been the subject of much research and

discussion. According to Hyams (1986), the "initial" value of a parameter (in L1 acquisition) is invariant across children and is defined as the value given by UG in advance of any experience with a particular language. It is UG that determines the range of values, and in the case of some parameters, the initial value thereof. However, it does not specify which is the correct value for any particular language. If the initial setting for the parameter is incorrect for the particular language being acquired, positive linguistic evidence allows the resetting to the correct L1 value. This means that the initial settings are delearnable, based on positive evidence (Cf. Klein 1982 for details of the delearnability requirement). According to the Subset Principle (Berwick 1982), the child will initially assume the value which generates the subset language. Although the Subset Principle is sufficient to guarantee the resetting of a misset parameter on the basis of positive evidence, it is not necessary; what is required is that there be some sentence in the adult grammar that cannot be generated by the child grammar. Klein's (1982) delearnability requirement is certainly satisfied if the child language is a subset of the adult language. It is equally satisfied if the early child grammar and the adult grammar generate intersecting or disjoint sets. (Cf. Hyams 1986, Chapter 6, Section 2.1 for an example of a parameter which does not obey the Subset Principle.)

Any discussion of initial parameter setting raises the question of whether the initial setting necessarily represents the unmarked case. Rouveret and Vergnaud's (1980) formulation makes an implicit claim concerning the relative markedness of intermediate grammars produced by L1 learners. In their view, the initial grammar is the unmarked or least marked one with each successive grammar more marked than the previous one. Williams (1981) adopts essentially the same position stating that the unmarked case can be understood as the child's initial hypothesis about language (prior to receiving any data). If one accepts this formulation of the theory of markedness, then the claim that a particular setting for some parameter is the initial setting amounts to saying that this value constitutes the unmarked case.

One then must ask whether it is legitimate to assign an initial parameter setting the status of the unmarked value simply because of its position in the developmental sequence and in the absence of any independent evidence for its unmarked status. It is possible that a parameter is initially set at some value for reasons entirely independent of markedness (as in the case of simple versus complex sentences whose appearance sequence may have to do with factors dealing with maturation or performance) (Hyams 1985, 1986).[95] Another possibility is that the initial hypothesis, while representing the least marked option consistent with the data that the child has available and is able to analyze at that

point in his/her development, is not the least marked option with respect to the adult language. White (1981) discusses this particular point of view in detail. Hyams (1986) opts for the adoption that it is a relational and relative notion; that is, that a particular grammatical option may be unmarked in one language and marked in another. It must be remembered that the above is in keeping with the theory that core grammar is defined as the grammar which results from fixing the parameters of UG in one or another of the permitted ways while peripheral processes involve an extension or relaxation of some principle of the core grammar.

The status of both UG and the setting of an individual parameter in the L1 plays an important role in the discussion of L2 acquisition. Much discussion has been submitted regarding the various possibilities available to the L2 learner regarding parametric variation. Among these are the direct availability of UG to the L2 learner and the transfer of the L1 setting to the L2 prior to the resetting of the individual parameter. The first option proposes a return to the initial or neutral setting for the parameter which was available to the L1 learner prior to receiving any linguistic data and supposes that the same procedure used to set parameter for the L1 is applied once again, with no influence or regard to that which has already been learned. The second option takes the position that the learner assumes that both the L1 and L2 have the same value for the parameter until

linguistic data from the L2 provides evidence that the parameter must be reset. Based on this positive evidence, the L2 learner adjusts the value for the particular parameter under consideration. For a details of the various explanations and possibilities available for the resetting of parameters from L1 to L2, see the discussion in Section 2.4 of this chapter.

Liceras (1988) and Phinney (1987) have investigated the acquisition of Spanish by speakers of a non-**pro**-drop language while Hilles (1986), Phinney (1987) and White (1985a, 1986, 1987) have studied the resetting of the **pro**-drop option to non-**pro**-drop where the subjects were native speakers of Spanish learning English. All three of the latter researchers found missing pronouns in the early stages of the acquisition process. This might be interpreted as evidence for the unmarked status of the **pro**-drop option, with direct access to UG and no role for the L1 or as evidence of the influence of the L1. The fact that White's French-speaking subjects seldom failed to identify missing pronouns seems to favor the transfer hypothesis and is perfectly compatible with the UG hypothesis. Thus, there may be a role for the L1 as well as UG principles in L2 acquisition.

Inasmuch as my work on **pro**-drop is being carried out within the Principles and Parameters framework and involves the contact between Spanish, which is a **pro**-drop language, and English, which is a non-**pro**-drop language, issues related to

both Universal Grammar and second language acquisition play a central role. The purpose of the research is to demonstrate that increased competence in English leads to an increase in the use of subject pronouns in preverbal position in the Spanish spoken by the Mexican-American participants. For the English-dominant bilinguals, English is the L1 and Spanish the L2 which is in the process of being acquired or has been partially or incompletely acquired. If it is assumed that the unmarked value is also the initial setting to which a learner returns, which in this case seems to be that of **pro**-drop, it would also be available to the L2 learner, and there would be no difference between the subject pronoun usage of the monolingual Spanish speakers and those speakers claiming English as their L1. I propose that it is the non-**pro**-drop setting from English that is being carried over to the Spanish of these informants which is responsible for the increased rate in subject pronoun usage. That is, the L1 parameter setting is carried over and used in the L2 until enough evidence is received so that the parameter can be reset to the correct value for Spanish. However, it seems that for some of these English-dominant bilinguals, this point has not been or cannot be reached.

2.6 Notes

1. For example, English is a head first language in that verbs and prepositions precede their objects while German is head last with the verb following its object within the VP (Cf. Hyams 1986).

2. Cf. Hyams (1986) and Borer and Wexler (1985) for detailed explanations of the continuous development hypothesis.

3. Cf. Brown (1973) where it is noted that word order is one of the earliest aspects of syntax controlled by the learner.

4. Cf. Hyams (1986) for additional details.

5. Cf. Chomsky (1981), Rizzi (1982), Jaeggli (1982), Burzio (1986), Hyams (1986), Safir (1986), Jaeggli and Safir (1989) for complete details. Some of the names used to refer to the cluster of properties are the "Pro-drop", "Null Subject" or "NOM-drop" parameter.

6. Cf. Solé and Solé (1977), Ramsey and Spaulding (1962), Gili y Gaya (1961) and Franch and Blecua (1975) for additional information.

7. Cf. Perlmutter (1971) for the details of the analysis.

8. The inversion rule of NSLs is free in that it does not involve the presence of a special marker or structural property of the clause. In this sense, subject inversion in Spanish and Italian is free while the two separate inversion processes in French are not. Stylistic inversion involves a **wh**-element or trace in COMP (**le jour ou viendra mon enfant**) while the second process involves the presence of the overt dummy pronoun **il** (**il est arrivé une fille**) (Rizzi 1982).

9. Chapter 4 of Rizzi (1982) was originally available as Rizzi (1980) in a mimeograph titled "Negation, WH-movement and the null subject parameter".

10. Rizzi (1982) prefers "null subject" to "pro-drop" since he proposes that no pronoun deletion rule is involved.

11. For details of the analysis, see Jaeggli (1982), Chapter 4, "The Empty Category Principle".

12. See Bouchard (1984), Chapter 4, "PRO Drop Languages" for details of the analysis and derivation.

13. Rule R is a rule of Affix movement. It is a local rule and does not share the basic properties of the transformational rule Move-α. There is no reason to believe that rules of the PF-component leave trace and the same is true when rule R applies in the syntax. This is adopted by the following convention:

> Local rules such as R do not leave trace
> (Chomsky 1981:256-7)

14. Cf. Safir (1985) for an explanation of its motivation.

15. EXE is available universally although its distribution is regulated by the Theta-Criterion and the Emex Condition (Safir 1986).

16. The Principle of Lexicalization is stated in (i).

(i) Principle of Lexicalization
A noun N will be lexicalized if and only if psi-features are present in the entry of N at PF, where psi = person, number, gender and Case. (Bouchard 1984:41)

17. Like a clitic, it is a verbal affix with (pro-)nominal qualities, specified with respect to such grammatical features as person and number and is interpreted as a definite pronoun.

18. Safir (1986) assumes that the head of a maximal projection is governed if the maximal projection is (following Kayne (1981), Belletti and Rizzi (1981) and Safir (1982)), but that only the head of a governed maximal projection is susceptible to government from an outside governor.

19. Rule R applies in the syntax, allowing the features of AG to be located on V at S-structure which then are able to govern and assign nominative Case to the subject contained in the VP (Hyams 1986:30).

20. The four types of languages according to whether they allow expletive and referential null pronouns are (1)Core null-subject languages (NSL) which have obligatory null expletives and optional null referential pronouns such as Italian and Spanish; (2)Core non-NSLs which allow neither expletives nor referential null pronouns such as English and French; (3)Restricted NSLs which consist mainly of V-2 languages such as Old French and Bavarian which allow null expletives in certain environments and allow optional null referential pronouns in certain restrictive environments; and (4)Expletive NSLs which are languages like Icelandic and German that permit null expletives but never allow null referential pronouns (Hermon and Yoon 1989:174-5).

21. For detailed explanation, Cf. Jaeggli and Safir (1989).

22. The rule of theta role assignment like (i) below would have the desired effect:

(i) The external theta role can be assigned to any sister of the theta-assigning predicate (e.g., VP). (Safir 1986:351)

23. Both Rizzi (1982) and Chomsky (1981) predict that "long **wh**-movement" of the subject and ***that-t** violations are only possible in sentences where free inversion has occurred. However, Brazilian Portuguese, which allows both null subjects and ***that-t** violations but not free inversion of the subject in tensed embedded sentences in non-contrastive readings, provides a counter example to both analyses.

24. On the one hand, Trentino exemplifies languages that allow free inversion but do not permit missing subjects in that some sort of subject must always be present. Modenese, another northern Italian language, also has postverbal definite subjects but an impersonal subject clitic must always appear when the subject is inverted. Therefore, Safir (1986) employs the term "free inversion" only to describe SVO languages in which "subjects" appear postverbally without restriction (without Definiteness Effect).

On the other hand, Portuguese appears to be a language in which the missing subject property does occur but where the free-inversion property does not since it evidences the Definiteness Effect. When postverbal subjects do occur, they must be either indefinite or in presentational contexts (generally appearing with unaccusative verbs). Portuguese, therefore, is not a free inversion language inasmuch as the latter by definition lack the Definiteness Effect. In addition, Portuguese shows the same COMP-trace effect that

French does, making it a non-free-inversion language (Safir 1986).

25. A similar way for **pro** to fix its phi-feature specification is when the empty matrix is unified with that of an underspecified [+deictic] AGR (AGR with null values) which can be picked up from discourse or from a preceding NP (Harmon and Yoon 1989).

26. There are three different ways in which an EC gets an R-index. Once the narrow procedures of indexing due to lexical specifications and Binding have taken place, any NPs left without an index get one by the Elsewhere assignment (free indexing) at S-structure (Chomsky 1982; Bouchard 1984). Since anaphors and pronominals are functionally defined (whether they are lexical or not), the above provides a simple and conceptually attractive indexing procedure.

27. Bouchard (1984) proposes a principle of Denotability which is a well-formedness condition on R-indices for arguments which has as a consequences that θ-roles are assigned only to elements that bear an R-index.

> Principle of Denotability
> An NP will denote an object in domain D only if that NP has an R-index.

28. The F-features under discussion are person, number and gender. PRO has the features intrinsically, thereby getting its pronominal status. NP trace and variable also possess these features since they agree with other elements (the features are said to be left behind by Move α). And **pro** depends on AGR for these features.

29. Berwick (1985) proposes a somewhat different relationship from that presented by Hyams (1986). He suggests that the language generated by the child's initial grammar is a subset of the adult grammar. The Subset Principle insures that there be positive evidence upon which the child can revise his initial hypothesis. What cannot happen, according to both Berwick and Hyams, is the situation in which the language generated by the child's grammar is a superset of the language generated by the adult grammar.

30. The child fixes the parameters in accordance with what he perceives to be "relevant". Hyams' (1986) view does not

distinguish between "input" and "intake", something which White (1981) suggests.

31. Although Safir (1986) does not explicitly refer to his reasoning in the discussion, it is an important underlying assumption.

32. Suñer (1982:55-6) concentrates on the types of sentences illustrated in (a-e) in order to properly identify the missing element in each.

(a) **δ comen a las diez.**
("eat(3pl) at ten o'clock.")
("They eat at ten o'clock.")

(b) **Paco quiere δ comer.**
("Paco wants(3sg) to eat.")

(c) **δ había mucha gente.**
("existed(3sg) many people.")
("There were many people.")

(d) **δ hace mucho viento.**
("makes(3sg) much wind.")
("It's very windy.")

(e) **δ apareció un hombre.**
("appeared a man.")
("A man appeared.")

(f) **δ se premia a los incompetentes.**
("'se' rewards(3sg) the incompetents.")
("Incompetents are rewarded.")

33. The person and number agreement is evident in the verbal paradigm for the preterit of "to arrive". Examples and glosses are taken from Suñer (1982:57-9).

(Yo)	**llegué.**	("I arrived.")
[+1st]	[+1st]	
[+1sg]	[+1sg]	
(Tú)	**llegaste.**	("You (sg) arrived.")
[+2nd]	[+2nd]	
[+sg]	[+sg]	
(El)	**llegó.**	("He arrived.")
[-1st]	[-1st]	
[-2nd]	[-2nd]	
[+sg]	[+sg]	
(Nosotros)	**llegamos.**	("We arrived.")

[+1st]	[+1st]	
[-sg]	[-sg]	
(Vosotros)	**llegasteis.**	("You (pl) arrived.")
[+2nd]	[+2nd]	
[-sg]	[-sg]	
(Ellos)	**llegaron.**	(They (m) arrived.")
[-1st]	[-1st]	
[-2nd]	[-2nd]	
[-sg]	[-sg]	

The inherent feature of grammatical gender also becomes evident since it manifests itself in predicate adjectives.

(a)

(Ellos)	**son**	**altos.**
[-1st]	[-1st]	[-sg]
[-2nd]	[-2nd]	[+masc]
[-sg]	[-sg]	
[+masc]		

("They are tall (m, pl).")

(b)

(Ellas)	**son**	**altas.**
[-1st]	[-1st]	[-sg]
[-2nd]	[-2nd]	[-masc]
[-sg]	[-sg]	
[-masc]		

("They are tall (f, pl).")

(c)

PRO	**Está**	**abierto.**
[-1st]	[-1st]	[+sg]
[-2nd]	[-2nd]	[+masc]
[+sg]	[+sg]	
[+masc]		

("(It) is open (m, sg).")

El libro está abierto.

("The book is open.")

Note: Subject pronouns do not stand for "things" since Spanish does not have a pronoun equivalent to English "it" or [-animate] "they".

(d)

PRO	**Está**	**abierta.**
[-1st]	[-1st]	[+sg]
[-2nd]	[-2nd]	[-masc]
[+sg]	[+sg]	
[-masc]		

("(It) is open (f, sg).")

La tienda está abierta.

("The shop is open.")

Note: Gender is also evidenced in past participles that behave like adjectives:

Los libros fueron encuadernados en cuero.

[-1st]	[-1st]	[-sg]	
[-2nd]	[-2nd]		[+masc]
[-sg]	[-sg]		
[+masc]			

("The books were bound in leather.")

34. This is in keeping with Chomsky (1981) where Subject-Verb Agreement (SVA) is a matching process and $[_{NP}e]$ has no features. Therefore, sentences containing the anaphor will be discarded because the subject and AGR will not match.

35. Examples and glosses are taken from Suñer (1982:59).
(a) **(Paco/él) quiere δ ser alto.**
[+sg]
[+masc]
("Paco/he wants to be tall (m, sg).")

(b) **(Las niñas/ellas) quieren δ ser altas.**
[-sg]
[-masc]
("The girls/they (f, pl) want to be tall (f, pl).")

36. Cf. Suñer (1982:60) for detailed explanation.
(a) **Los hombres$_i$ dicen que δ$_i$ comen a las diez.**
(b) **Los hombres$_i$ dicen que δ$_i$ comen a las diez.**
("The men say that (they) eat at ten o'clock.")

37. Cf. Suñer (1982:62-63) for examples and a detailed explanation.

38. (a) ***Paco mandó {haber mucha gente.**
{hacer mucho viento.
("Paco ordered {there-to-be-many people.")
{it-to-be very windy.")
Its non-surface structure would be:
Paco mandó [[$_{NP}$e] haber mucha gente]
Paco mandó [[$_{NP}$e] hacer mucho viento]

(b) **Debe/Puede/Empieza a {haber mucha gente.**
{hacer mucho viento.
("There must/Can/Begins to {be many people.")
{be windy.")
(Suñer 1982:63-4, 66)

39. Therefore, the Phrase structure rule for Spanish is:
S --> (NP) INFL VP
(Suñer 1982:66)

40. In the examples in (i), (a) is open to a generic interpretation while (b), with an overt pronoun in place of the EC is not. An overt pronoun cannot take the place of an EC. The opposite is also true, as (c) shows.

(i) (a) **A juzgar por sus actos, EC se sobornan fácilmente.**
("To judge from their acts, they bribe easily.")

(b) **A juzgar por sus actos, ellos se sobornan fácilmente.**
("To judge from their acts, they bribe easily.")

(c) **Ana ama a sus hijos$_i$, y *(ellos$_i$) lo saben.**
("Ana loves her children and they know it.")

(Otero 1986:89)

41. Cf. Belletti 1982 and Cinque 1988 for additional views and detailed explanations regarding impersonal **se** constructions and the theory of ARB.

42. Strong pronouns cannot serve as logical variables at LF:

(a) **Este es el chico que no sabemos a cuál escuela va.**
("This is the boy [that (we) don't know [to which school (he) goes]] **pro**.)

(b) ***Este es el chico que no sabemos a cuál escuela va él.**

In Left Dislocations, strong pronouns cannot be a topicalized constituent.

(a) **Juan, va a dar un discurso.**
("John, [(he) is going to give a speech.")

(b) ***Juan, él va a dar un discurso.**
(Uninterpretable)

Only **pro** and clitics may act as variables bound by a QP.

(a) **Todo el mundo sabe que se divertirá.**
("Everyone knows that (he) will have fun."

(b) **Todo el mundo sabe que él se divertirá.**

The presence of strong pronoun **él** makes the bound reading impossible.

43. Torrego (1984:122) gives these examples, although they still need to be distinguished. In order to do this, a revision to the ECP is necessary.

(a) **¿Quién no recuerdas qué película dirigió en el cincuenta y uno?**

("Who don't you remember what movie directed in '51?")

(b) ***¿Qué película no recuerdas quién dirigió en el cincuenta y uno?**
("What movie don't you remember who directed in '51?)"

44. All examples and glosses are taken from Torrego (1984:103).

45. This example and its gloss are taken from Torrego (1984:104).

46. While the obligatory inversion rules in English (Subject-Auxiliary Inversion [SAI]) and German (Verb/Second) are restricted to root sentences, the Spanish inversion rule involved in **wh**-questions occurs in both embedded and matrix clauses.

(1) (a) **No sabía qué querían esos dos.**
***No sabía qué esos dos querían.**
("I didn't know what those two wanted.")
(b) **No me acuerdo a quién prestó Juan el diccionario.**
***No me acuerdo a quién Juan prestó el diccionario.**
("I don't remember to whom Juan lent the dictionary.")

In Spanish the finite verb form, not an auxiliary (like in SAI in English), must appear directly after the **wh**-phrase. If the sequence involves more than one verb, only the first verb of the sequence must precede the subject.

(2) (a) **¿Con quién podrá Juan ir a Nueva York?**
("With whom will John be able to go to New York?")
(b) **Está María terminando el libro?**
("Is Mary finishing the book?")

The auxiliaries **ser** and **haber** are the exception to the rule. Both the finite form of the auxiliary and the main verb obligatorily follow immediately after the **wh**-phrase in Comp as in

(3) (a) **¿Qué ha organizado la gente?**
***¿Qué ha la gente organizado?**
("What have people organized?")
(b) **¿Por quién fue organizada la reunión?**

***¿Por quién fue la reunión organizada?**
("By whom was the meeting organized?")

(Torrego 1984:104-5)

47. Cf. Contreras (1986:38-40) for a detailed explanation of his objections.

48. The examples and their glosses are taken from Contreras (1986:25-6), although he credits Rivero (1970) with the examples listed under (c).

49. The example and gloss(es) were taken from Contreras (1986:26).

50. The examples and their glosses are from Contreras (1986:28).

51. The special verbs include **terminar** ("to finish") in sentences with quantified objects such as ***Terminé mucho café.** ("I finished much coffee.") versus **Terminé el café.** ("I finished the coffee."). ***Terminé café.** ("I finished coffee.") behaves in a manner similar to a sentence with a QP (Contreras 1986:28).

52. Using the Subjacency, base order, and **pro**-drop parameters, Truscott and Wexler (1989) provide an interesting analysis of why parametric theory itself is problematic in explaining language learning. The problems with Chomsky's theory arise from the fact that a language may not reliably reflect the structure of its core grammar since there can be many sentences which on the surface are inconsistent with the core. Rather than relying on marked processes, they offer four possible solutions followed by problems with each when applied to Subjacency.

Inasmuch as each of the four attempts to modify the theory of parameter setting for subjacency fails under close scrutiny, it does not appear that the theory of core grammar is salvageable by changes in the theory of parameter setting. For details of each of the proposed modifications and their evaluations of problems, Cf. Truscott and Wexler (1989). However, there is one final possibility which indicates that neither the theory of core grammar nor that of parameter setting needs to be changed and the problem is taken care of by the environment rather than by the learner. The evidence

that exists in support of the latter hypothesis comes from "motherese" (i.e., the distinct way mothers have of speaking to their children which differs greatly from their normal speech). However, "motherese" does not seem to be a purely core language. Therefore, it is useful to consider alternatives to the use of a parameter, at least in bounding theory and parameterized subjacency can and should be replaced.

According to Truscott and Wexler, if the principles of a core grammar are abstractions from the actual language, then there will always be exceptions to them and therefore there will always be a problem for learning theory. The answer lies in that the learner must decide how to apply the principles in the particular language he is learning. Each principle involves some basic notions which need not be considered invariable. The learner's task is to instantiate each of these notions for the language being learned, presumably aided in the task by a theory of markedness, which specifies the possible varieties of instantiations and provides a preference ordering for them.

53. This by itself, however, does not exclude the possibility of L1 being available during second language acquisition.

54. However, the method by/in which the L2 is acquired must also be taken into consideration. For example, in foreign language programs the input is much richer and more structured than that which is available to the child during L1 acquisition.

55. Although Chomsky (1965) wrote approvingly of CPH in "Aspects", it has not been discussed within the current framework (Cf. Cook (1985) for details).

56. For an explanation of how children solve the learnability problem posed by the **absence** of negative evidence, see Pinker (1984).

57. The few corrections that occur are largely about dialectal or socially stigmatized forms, socially prescribed politeness formulas, and like constructions (Cook 1985).

58. In principle, explanatory evidence is available to older L2 learners in formal settings in a way that is not available to the native child (Cook 1985). This has been emphasized by

theories of cognitive code learning (Carroll 1965) and the Monitor Model (Krashen 1981).

59. However, Bowerman (1988) disagrees. She believes that the negative feedback received by children is simply irrelevant. In addition, listener misunderstandings, requests for clarification, repetitions and recasts are not reliable indicators of ungrammaticality for the speaker as they follow well formed utterances as well as those that are ungrammatical.

60. However, what is required for the disconfirmation of a hypothesis is not logically the same as what is required for the abandonment of it (Cf. Bley-Vroman 1984 and 1986 for details of just what is considered negative evidence and its effects).

61. (c) and (d) may seem essentially the same, yet the situation in (d) may cause the learner greater problems than those in (c). The predictions may be further complicated by the question of markedness (White 1985b).

62. This raises the question as to whether parameter resetting involves going from one setting (positive or negative) to another or whether the learner begins anew with the parameter setting in neutral position.

63. A similar view is expressed by Clahsen and Muysken (1989). For them, the role UG plays in L2 acquisition is through the interaction of fixed principles with the processing of the (L2) input, rather than through parameter resetting. They are convinced that there is a good possibility that L2 learners can apply grammatical principles in making judgments about target language sentences, but these are due to general learning strategies rather than parameter resetting mechanisms.

64. Felix (1985) proposes that UG is available to the adult language learner but that it competes with a general problem-solving system in the acquisition of a new language. Ioup and Tansomboom (1987) posit that UG is operative but that the adult L2 learner perceives and organizes the data using different strategies from those of younger learners.

65. Clahsen and Muysken (1986) reach the conclusion that children have access to an innate Language Acquisition Device (LAD) but that adult learners do not. However, they do not state any reason for this. Bley-Vroman, on the other hand, believes that UG does not guide L2 learners but that they must rely on L1 knowledge and general problem-solving skills.

66. Cf. Sorace (1988) where she discusses three types of IL indeterminacy: early, intermediate and advanced.

67. Both Clahsen and Muysken (1989) and Schachter (1989) state that there is no convincing empirical evidence that the principles of UG uninstantiated in the L1 are available to adult language learners.

68. For example, both L1 and L2 learners pass through an ordered sequence of developmental stages during which they produce structures that systematically deviate from the adult model. The types of IL structures and the order in which certain features of the target language are mastered are frequently close to identical in both L1 and L2 acquisition (Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup 1988).

69. If it can be shown that L2 learners are able to identify ungrammaticality in the L2 on the basis of positive evidence alone, then L2 learners must have access to UG (Jordens 1991). However, Jordens' position is that in L2 grammaticality judgment tasks, it is possible for L2 learners to rely on similar constructions in the L1 as a basis for their judgments. Therefore, ungrammaticality can be identified without having to recur either to negative evidence or UG.

For a repudiation of Jordens' findings, Cf. Eubank (1991) who supports both Felix's and White's explanations of the role of UG in L2 acquisition.

70. For details on the methodology, individual results and discussion, see Bley-Vroman, Felix and Ioup (1988).

71. Cf. Ritchie (1978) for similar results that substantiate the fact that nonnative speakers perform better than chance on judgment tasks but not at the level of native speakers.

72. The term "interlanguage" (IL) was coined by Selinker (1969, 1972) to refer to the interim grammars constructed by L2 learners as they worked their way to the target language.

Selinker (1972) saw the IL as a separate linguistic system resulting from the learner's attempt to produce the target language's norm and was the product of five central cognitive processes involved in SLA: (1)language transfer, (2)transfer of training, (3)strategies of L2 learning, (4)strategies of L2 communication, and (5)overgeneraliza-tion of the target language linguistic material. Selinker saw the development of the IL as different from the process of L1 development because of the possibility of "fossilization" in L2 which exists when the learner ceases to elaborate the IL in some respect, no matter how long there is exposure, new data or new teaching. Selinker, Swain and Dumas (1975) argued that an analysis of children's speech revealed a definite systematicity in the IL which is evidenced by recognizable strategies.

Adjemian (1976) argued that the systematicity of the IL should be analyzed as rule-governed behavior; that is, the internal organization of the IL can be idealized linguistically, just like any other natural language. IL grammars are seen to obey universal linguistic constraints and evidence internal consistency. Adjemian focused on the dynamic character, the permeability of IL systems, rather than on the structurally intermediate nature of the learner's system. IL systems are thought to be incomplete and in a state of flux.

Tarone (1979) maintained that the IL could be seen as analyzable into a set of styles that are dependent on the context of use. Learner utterances are systematically variable in that (1)the context may have a variable effect on the learner's use of phonological and syntactic features and (2)the task used for elicitation of data from learners may have a variable effect on the learner's production of related phonological and syntactic structures. Tarone (1983) proposed that variability in the IL can be accounted for by a system of variable and categorical rules based on particular contexts of use.

Like Adjemian, Tarone assumes that the IL is a natural language which obeys the constraints of the same language universals and is subject to analysis by means of standard linguistic techniques, but goes beyond Adjemian in claiming that language productions show systematic variability similar to that demonstrated to exist in the speech of native speakers. For Tarone, IL is not a single system, but a set of styles that can be used in different social contexts.

73. However, O'Grady (1991) in response to Hilles' paper, states that the claim that **pro**-drop in L2 learning provides support for the accessibility of UG in L2 learners can be questioned on two grounds. First, he doubts the correctness of the claims made about **pro**-drop in L1 acquisition. He believes there is an alternative account for why children initially do not use overt subjects with all VPs. Second, the

data from L2 language learning do not support the existence or accessibility of UG inasmuch as there are competing accounts (ranging from classical interference to the workings of a UG-independent acquisition device) for why Spanish-speaking children learning English might initially take overt subjects to be optional. Cf. O'Grady (1991) for details.

74. The two crucial issues raised against the validity of linguistic intuitions are that (1)the capacity to have relevant linguistic intuitions may not be a reflection of grammatical competence and (2)even if linguistic intuitions are directly related to grammatical competence, they may be affected by extralinguistic factors that cannot be easily isolated (Sorace 1988).

75. Silva-Corvalán (1993), however, disagrees with the concept that grammars are permeable, at least in language contact situations. Her findings show that:

(i) Languages are permeable at the discourse pragmatic level. Transfer occurs when bilinguals identify a surface string in the L2 system with one in the L1, and in using it, they subject it to the discourse-pragmatic rules of the L1.

(ii) The syntactic permeability of grammars is evident only in nonce syntactic borrowings, that is, in the impermanent and occasional instances of immediate disturbances of the surface syntactic structures/strings of languages.

(iii) The syntactic system of grammars is remarkably impermeable to foreign influence. Syntactic transfer spreads with great difficulty in the language system and across speakers and regardless of possible favorable socio-cultural conditions surrounding the contact.

76. The two systems under discussion are UG, which is specifically geared to the processing of linguistic data for acquisition, and a general problem-solving faculty, which develops later in life and is used for a variety of conceptual learning tasks (Sorace 1988).

77. For White (1985a, 1986) the relevant components of the **pro**-drop parameter are (1)the ability to omit subject pronouns, (2)the free inversion of subject and verb in declarative sentences, and (3)the ability to extract subjects out of clauses containing a complementizer (**that-t** violations).

78. White (1985a) does not believe that the results of her study constitute evidence of a developmental stage common to second language learners regardless of the L1. She arrives at this conclusion because if the results were caused by such a stage, the omission of pronouns would be of ambiguous origin since both the developmental trend and the L1 would lead to **pro**-drop errors. She also argues against **pro**-drop being the unmarked case by stating that if this were indeed true, then the French controls would also initially have treated English as a **pro**-drop language, which they did not. However, if one argues in favor of the transfer of the L1 setting, then there is no reason for the French controls to demonstrate a [+**pro**-drop] stage since French is also a [-**pro**-drop] language.

79. For Liceras (1988), the properties of the **pro**-drop parameter are (1)missing subjects, (2)free subject-verb inversion, (3)apparent violations of the **that**-t filter, and (4)long **wh**-movement.

80. Again, if the learner requires separate evidence for each characteristic of the parameter in order to reset it, then we are dealing with individual linguistic traits and not a parameter. The definition of parameter indicates that the separate characteristics are considered a unit and when one is affected, all of them must be. A change in one trait automatically causes a change in all characteristics associated with the parameter in question.

81. If what Liceras (1988, 1989) says and her interpretations of White's results are accepted, and traits can be acquired and shed individually, then there is no such thing as a parameter, just some vague tendencies toward the grouping of characteristics. If the components of a parameter are not learned or reset as a unit, then we need to redefine the concept of "parameter". The implications which make the parametric approach revolutionary are precisely the domino effect predicted by a cluster of properties such as those found in **pro**-drop languages. Either they are interrelated and a change in one trait leads to a change in the others, or parameters, as heretofore defined, are nonexistent.

82. Liceras determines these factors on the basis of data from Fernández Ramírez (1951) and Liceras (1986b) concerning the use of subject pronouns in written Spanish and Barrenechea (1977) and Enríquez (1984) concerning the use thereof in spoken Spanish.

83. Spanish direct objects which refer to people are always marked with the preposition "**a**". Thus, an inverted subject (**Telefoneó María.**/"Mary telephoned.") can be easily interpreted as such and not as a direct object (**Telefoneó a María.**/"He/she telephoned Mary.") (Cf. Liceras 1988, 1989 for details).

84. The four predictions made are:

(1) Unless fossilization occurs, **pro**-drop is expected in the initial stages of the IL and will decrease over time.

(2) In the presence of **pro**-drop, no lexical material is expected in AUX. The emergence of modals and other lexical material in AUX should be inversely proportional to the presence of **pro**-drop.

(3) Initially the IL should lack expletives completely. If they act as a trigger, the emergence of lexical material in AUX, the decrease of **pro**-drop and the emergence of expletives should coincide.

(4) The presence of other properties such as free inversion and **that**-trace violations may be present in the IL but their presence should not be directly or inversely proportional to (1) or (2).

(Hilles 1986:40)

85. Hilles (1986:42) calculates the percentage of **pro**-drop with the following formula:

$$\frac{X}{X + Y}$$

X = number of instances of **pro**-drop
Y = instances in which **pro**-drop could have occurred but didn't

86. A definition of what is meant by the terms "amount" and "more" evidence or how this quantity can be determined is never provided by the researchers mentioned (Phinney, White and Liceras). This makes it difficult to determine how they reach their conclusions. How is one to ascertain at what point (quantitatively) a learner definitively (re)sets the **pro**-drop parameter to the appropriate value? The situation is not clarified in any of the studies presented by these three linguists.

87. The reverse should also obtain. That is, where some parameter has a positive value for the L2 which is negative in the L1, all aspects of equivalent complexity should be learned together (White 1985a).

88. However, in a previous experiment on the **pro**-drop parameter (White 1985) subjects did show continuing improvement with increasing levels.

89. Where the French responses included **that**, they could have been influenced by the fact that there is a rule in similar constructions in French which requires that the complementizer **que** be changed to **qui** in cases of subject extraction. Thus, the ability to interchange **that** and **who** in English in certain structures could lead these French speakers to assume that **that-trace** sequences are possible in English. This, in turn, allows both the Spanish and French speakers to make the same mistakes but for different reasons (White 1986, fn 9).

90. However, this last point continues to be debated. Although French allows, even requires, the complementizer **qui** in sentences equivalent to **that-trace** sequences, the usual complementizer **que** is prohibited. If **qui** is taken to be **que** with morphological conditioning, then French does allow **that-t** violations!

91. Alvarado (1986) states that while the question of whether speakers of a **pro**-drop language like Spanish lose all the properties together when acquiring a non-**pro**-drop language like English raised by White (1986) is most interesting but needs further research because the results of White's study were mixed.

92. Alvarado (1986), upon reviewing White's (1986) results suggests that non-referential "it" is different enough to show a distinct pattern of acquisition inasmuch as it has grammatical function but no semantic content. She proposes that the omission of dummy "it" is a developmental error that should affect both the Spanish speakers and the French controls, which is supported by the data in the study. Theory also predicts that the acquisition of non-referential "it" should be slower for Spanish speakers, where the lack of dummy "it" is both developmental and in the L1, than for the French controls, where the lack is only developmental. Again, the data support this. Alvarado states that a more uniform presentation of items would have shown more differences within the pronoun property and more similarities within the inversion property and that the similarities and differences within properties affect the data, its interpretation and perhaps the acquisition of the parameter as a whole.

93. At this time, Liceras (1989) considers (1)null subjects, (2)verb-subject inversion and (3)apparent **that**-t violations as the properties of the parameter under consideration, eliminating long **wh**-movement from the cluster.

94. However, acquisition of inversion does not imply that **that**-t has been acquired. This is also a hierarchy of difficulty, with **that**-t being the most difficult grammatical concept of the three to acquire (Liceras 1989).

95. Rizzi (1985) adopts a similar position arguing that although **pro**-drop represents the initial setting, it is not the unmarked case.

CHAPTER 3

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON LANGUAGE CONTACT--A REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

It is necessary to review a number of previous investigations dealing with Spanish/English contact in the United States and the syntactic changes effected on the Spanish spoken by bilinguals in these contact areas in order to understand not only where my study fits into the corpus of information dealing with these subjects but the reasons for undertaking the project. The works included were chosen because they concentrate on syntactic changes directly attributable to the influence of English on the bilingual populations which they study. The possibility of syntactic change in the Spanish of the Mexican-American population of Houston, Texas, brought about by its contact with English has not been investigated. This study should help determine what effect, if any, contact with English has had on the use of preverbal subject pronouns in the Spanish spoken by these bilinguals and whether these speakers of contact Spanish are making the same changes that other communities across the United States are experiencing due to similar language contact. Among the research reviewed will be work on U.S. Mexican Spanish (in Texas and California), and other varieties

of contact Spanish such as that of U.S. Puerto Rican and Cuban communities. To provide a monolingual baseline geographically and linguistically removed from contact with English, a monolingual study on Mexican Spanish has also been included.

Although there has been much work done on Texas Spanish, the majority has been devoted to the description and use of the dialect(s) of individual communities. However, the studies of Lantolf (1983) and Loa (1989) have been chosen for inclusion because they both are devoted to syntactic phenomena resulting from language contact. Lantolf's (1983) study centers on the structures in which gerunds and adverbials function as adjectives, a common occurrence in English but one that is nearly always ungrammatical in monolingual dialects of Spanish. Although the grammatical variable is not the same one analyzed in the present study, this work is indicative of the influence that English has on the syntax of Spanish.

Loa's (1989) work specifically studies the use of subject NPs by Spanish speakers in Central Texas, making it similar to the present study. However, he postulates that the changes in the usage of subject NPs are motivated by language-internal factors.

Mexican Spanish in California has been widely studied by Silva-Corvalán and her studies on subject expression and placement (1982) and the extension of **Estar** in Los Angeles Spanish (1986b) are included. Also reviewed are the studies

conducted by Gutiérrez (1990) on subordinate clauses and Ocampo (1990) on the loss of subjunctive mood. Gutiérrez (1993), an analysis of the innovative uses of **estar** in Michoacán, Mexico, is also included in this section because it compares the innovations of Michoacán to those of Los Angeles bilinguals, thus relating it to language contact. Since all of these investigations concentrate on syntactic changes which are attributed to contact with English, they are relevant to my research paradigm and lend support to the hypothesis on which my research is based.

Among those whose studies concentrate on other varieties of U.S. Spanish, are Guitart (1982)[1], Jagendorf (1988), Klein (1980), Klein-Andreu (1985), and Torres (1989). All are incorporated in the review since there are both similarities and differences related to the influences that English may exert upon these dialects which should be noted and considered in relation to that of Mexican bilinguals in Houston.

Cantero Sandoval (1978) is a study of the redundancy of subject pronouns in the monolingual Spanish of Mexico. It is included in order to establish the baseline characteristics of standard Mexican speech which is <u>not</u> in contact with English so that changes due to language contact can be identified, separated from those motivated by language-internal factors and analyzed.

3.2 Studies of U.S. Mexican Spanish

3.2.1 Silva-Corvalán (1982)

Silva-Corvalán's (1982) work is a study of factors that determine expression or non-expression of the sentence subject in Spanish and the position of the subject with respect to the verb when it is overtly expressed. The first portion parallels the present investigation. The population consisted of speakers who were able to converse with the interviewer in Spanish, had been living in West Los Angeles for a minimum of ten years, and were not college educated. The 24 speakers were divided according to age (50+ years, 30-49 and 14-29) and sex (4 males and 4 females in each group). For purposes of this study the term "Mexican-American" refers both to persons born in Mexico who had resided in the U.S. for at least ten years and to persons of Mexican ancestry born and brought up in the U.S. In this study there was no control group of Mexican monolinguals (in Mexico) so that there was no monolingual control group in the study to which the speech of these individuals could be compared and so that changes in linguistic behavior could be identified and evaluated. The data were gathered through unstructured interviews in a conversational style although a few questions and topics had been prepared beforehand and were introduced to stimulate the conversation. The study deals with the expression versus nonexpression of the subject in sentences and clauses with finite verbs as in (1) and (2).[2]

(1) "El inglés que **yo** hablo es muy quebrado."
The English that **I** speak is very broken.

(2) "Según el trabajo que desempeñe es el inglés que **ø** hablo."
The English that (I) speak varies according to my job.

Some types of verb constructions were not included because they are categorically subjectless. These include idiomatic expressions [**"donde quiera"** (wherever); **"como quiera"** (however)] and subjectless sentences with **"haber"** [**"Había unas vacas echadas en el suelo."** (There were some cows lying on the ground.)], **"hacer"** [**"hace un año"** (a year ago)] and **"ser"** [**"es temprano"** (it's early")].

In contrast to the present study, Silva-Corvalán considered only language-internal constraints on the occurrence of the variables. Silva-Corvalán hypothesized that when the subject referent of a sentence is the same as that of the preceding sentence (regardless whether or not it is expressed), the latter sentence would favor the absence of the subject because it constitutes old information.[3] Of the 795 sentences examined, 338 (43%) had expressed subjects. Only 25% of the same reference subjects were expressed as compared to 53% of switch reference subjects. The overall conclusion drawn from the data is that same reference subjects are most frequently not expressed. The analysis also confirms that subject pronouns are expressed more frequently when the verbal form is ambiguous, such as **"iba"** (I/(s)he went), **"iría"** (I/(s)he would go) and **"fuera"** (I/(s)he went [subjunctive])

and that contrast and the establishment of the subject as the topic of a discourse unit also causes the subject to be expressed. Silva-Corvalán concludes that constraints on the occurrence of subject expression are independent of dialect and reflect a general characteristic of the Spanish language.

Although Silva-Corvalán states at the outset that only language-internal factors are considered, due to the long-term contact with English experienced by the participants, it is impossible to discount the fact that the frequencies of overt subject pronoun usage may be influenced by the speakers' contact with English. The inclusion of a control group of Mexican monolinguals could help determine what effect proximity to English has had on the speech of this community.

3.2.2 Lantolf (1983)

The Chicano community of San Antonio, Texas, is compared to the Puerto Rican communities of greater Buffalo and Rochester, New York.[4] This study compares the linguistic patterns used by Chicano and Puerto Rican speech communities and concentrates on structures in which either locative phrases or gerunds appear as nominal modifiers, which are of common occurrence in English but are ungrammatical in monolingual dialects of Spanish. Lantolf proposes that the reason for the differences may be the diverse relationships the respective dialects have enjoyed with the English language and the Anglo culture.

An acceptability questionnaire was distributed to Chicanos and Puerto Ricans wherein respondents were asked to judge whether or not each of eighteen sentences sounded like something they might say or had heard. Fourteen of the sentences are generally considered to deviate from acceptable usage in the Spanish spoken in monolingual communities.[5] Although Lantolf did distribute his questionnaire to ten (educated) monolingual speakers of Spanish, he did not indicate their place of origin and seems to have relied on the work of normative grammarians (See Note 5) for corroboration of monolingual acceptability rather than on works based on actual usage.

The analysis does not support the hypothesis that the respondents' attitudes towards the key sentences were affected by the linguistic system of Spanish. Lantolf believes that knowledge of English has affected their grammatical judgments regarding commonly accepted deviant Spanish examples.

The data revealed no statistically relevant difference between Chicanos and Puerto Ricans with respect to gerunds functioning as adjectives. This feature appears to be a well-established feature of both dialects. However, only Chicano respondents accepted locative phrases as nominal modifiers (i.e, (1)**El teléfono afuera no funciona.** (2)**Dále el juguete sobre la cama.** and (3)**Tráeme el libro en la casa.**) and the use of the gerund following a preposition (i.e., **En terminando nos vamos.**) with any degree of consistency.[6] The explanation of

the latter assumes that English provides the stimulus for such sentences since English allows gerunds in post-prepositional environments. This suggests that the dialects of the Southwest have been more influenced by English than have those of the Northeast. Presumably, Chicanos have experienced a protracted and expansive period of coexistence with the dominant culture and its language while the Puerto Ricans have not had as prolonged or geographically and socially extensive contact with U.S. culture and language.

3.2.3 Silva-Corvalán (1986b)

One focus of Silva-Corvalán (1986b) is the effect of bilingualism on the actuation of a linguistic change. The premise explored here is that long and sustained contact may cause more or less radical changes in the syntactic system of the subordinate language (i.e., the language used in a narrower range of social contexts). The analysis of the extension of **estar** in Los Angeles Spanish demonstrates that language contact has the effect of speeding up the diffusion of a change. Inasmuch as this change involves a choice between one of two contrasting linguistic forms, it constitutes a simplification of the linguistic system and supports the hypothesis that language contact favors processes of linguistic simplification.

The population studied consisted of 27 Mexican-Americans living in east Los Angeles representing different generations[7] and degrees of Spanish language loss. Of the 1,178 tokens of

"ser" and **"estar"** that were codified, 555 correspond to **"ser"** and 623 to **"estar"**. Of these, only **"estar"** entered into combinations which could be considered innovative, with 55% (344 tokens) of the examples involving **"estar"** representing innovations. The cases of innovative use of **"estar"** were so classified because within the context, the speaker used **"estar"** where reasonable monolingual expectations would have **"ser"** (i.e., (a) **"Está** alta. Mide seis diez." (She's tall. She's six ten.); (b) **"Está** muy alta la muchacha." (She's very tall, that girl.)[8] Silva-Corvalán assumes that in (a) **"Está** alta" means **"Es** alta" (She's tall.), thereby classifying (a) as innovative. Had the same example occurred with **ser**, it would have been classified as "conservative".

Level of proficiency in Spanish and age of acquisition of English both affect the frequency of innovative use of **"estar"**. As the level of proficiency in Spanish decreases, the innovative uses of **estar** increase (Native = 52%, Good = 57% and Lower = 86%). Furthermore, those speakers who acquired English before the age of 5 evidenced a higher percentage of innovative uses than those who acquired the language after the age of 11 (At birth = 65%, 3-5 yrs. = 62%, 12-20 yrs. = 41% and 21+ yrs. = 55%). The results suggest that early contact with a linguistic system in which a single form (English **to be**) may correspond to two forms (Spanish **"ser"** and **"estar"**) favors change toward the use of a single form in contexts which allow both and that early contact

between two linguistic systems may speed up processes of change in the system of the less-used language. The latter hypothesis is supported by the cross-tabulation between innovative use on the one hand, and both level of Spanish proficiency and age of English acquisition on the other. This proposal is also supported by the cross-tabulation of innovative uses by group and age. 15-29 year-olds from all three groups (Grp. I = 47%, Grp. I = 73% and Grp. III = 71%) had a higher percentage of innovative use than their 30-65 year-old counterparts (Grp. I = 42%, Grp. II = 29% and Grp. III = 51%). However, the uniform speech behavior of the younger speakers in Groups II and III suggests that the changes affecting **"estar"** have become a stable feature of the Spanish dialect of Los Angeles.

3.2.4 Loa (1989)

Loa's study regarding the use of subject noun phrases by Spanish speakers in Central Texas at first glance seems to be a parallel study to the present one. Loa discusses what he considers to be the inherent weakness of the theoretical premise of those who ascribe syntactic change to language contact. Loa's initial hypothesis is that syntactic structures are resistant to change and that the results of his study provide empirical support for the hypothesis. He contends that it is a language-internal motivation, and not contact with and use of English, that contributes to syntactic change.

A written questionnaire was used to obtain both the demographic data which provide the basis for the discussion of the social and political structure of the speech community and the data on the use of four linguistic variables.[9] In addition, a recorded interview in Spanish was conducted at home with each informant to observe the use of linguistic variables. Five minutes of transcribed speech was used to determine the frequencies of the first three variables while a written questionnaire was used to observe the use of the fourth.

The only criteria for the selection of informants were that they be able to carry on a conversation totally in Spanish on familiar topics and be fluent in English as well, thereby making no distinction between/among the different levels of bilingualism. His informants included both Mexican-Americans and Hispanics who had lived in Texas for more than 15 years. Inasmuch as the term "Hispanic" remains undefined, the possibility of additional variables such as the original dialect of Spanish spoken by this group of informants are added to the data.

The most striking result of this study is that in the sample taken, older speakers used less Spanish than younger speakers. It contradicts the results of previous investigations (Lopez 1982; Silva-Corvalán 1986b, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993; Torres 1989; etc.) as well as the present research wherein Spanish usage is proportionately higher among older

informants. It is within the third generation speakers that the use of Spanish drops dramatically.

The population for the study of language change in the use of overt pronouns in sentence boundaries came from three different regions: bilinguals from Central Texas, Latin Americans at Ohio University (whose backgrounds were not disclosed) and residents of Mérida, Mexico. Again, it must be pointed out that the dialect originally spoken by the respondents does, in fact, have a bearing on the changes, whether motivated by language-internal or external (i.e., contact with English) factors. Moreover, Mérida represents Yucatan Spanish, already a bilingual contact zone. At the same time, Yucatan Spanish is scarcely represented among "Mexican-American" communities in the U.S.

Although no examples from the data collected were presented to support the hypotheses, Loa concluded that (1) the use of null pronouns in oral discourse did not show evidence of language change; (2) the use of postposed subject NPs also did not show evidence of language change; (3) the use of overt pronouns in sentential coreference to indicate disjoint reference did not show language change; and (4) this population of speakers has not experienced language change in its use of overt pronouns. The overall conclusion is that syntactic structures are resistant to language change. He arrived at the first two conclusions by counting the number of occurrences of each of the variables under study and then

comparing these numbers to previously published reports. The third and fourth conclusions were reached through the comparison of data from the three populations described earlier. There was only one example of transcribed text and it was used only to show the methodology used to mark the use/lack of variables under scrutiny.

3.2.5 Gutiérrez (1990)

Gutiérrez presents a preliminary study to determine the extent to which subordinate structures in Spanish are disappearing or being maintained in the oral narratives of three generations in the city of Los Angeles. The material used consists of ten oral narratives from three successive generations, the majority of which belong to the project on the Spanish of East Los Angeles directed by Silva-Corvalán. The definitions of the three generations involved match those described in Section 3.2.3 since both investigations are based on data from the same corpus. Upon consideration of the distribution of the subordinate structures across generations, a significant decrease occurs as the generational continuum advances, that is to say, from first to third generations. The 46.3% (107/231) use of subordinate clauses by first generation participants decreases to 29.4% (68/231) in the second generation and declines further to 24.2% (56/231) in the third.[10] Adjectival clauses and adverbial adjuncts behave in approximately the same manner by showing a small increase in usage by the second generation informants. These

include sentences such as "Y siempre tenían botellas en la mano, de cerveza, o qué sé yo, **que se quebraron.**" (And they always had bottles in their hands, of beer, or I don't know, **that were broken.**) which increased from 14.0% (15/107) to 16.2% (11/68) and "Pos ya **cuando terminé de hablar con él** le salió las lágrimas." (Well, **when I finished talking to him** tears flowed.) which showed an increase from 39.3% (42/107) to 44.1% (30/68). This differs from the behavior of nominal clauses which reaches its highest percentage in the third generation (46.7% to 39.7% to 55.4%). The latter were subdivided according to their function in the sentence: subject, sentential complement and direct object. There were only two clauses belonging to the first category ("Es importante **que lo hagan**" (It's important that they do it.)) and one belonging to the second ("...pero lo que hicieron fue **que quitaron los asientos.**" (...but what they did was **that they removed the seats.**) in the narratives that were studied and all three belonged to first generation speakers. These functions were completely absent from the speech of the second and third generations. However, when the clause functions as a direct object ("...sabe **que me robaron las llaves del carro.**" (...know(s) that they stole my car keys)), all three generations show high percentages. This last function was divided according to the presence or absence of a subordinating conjunction and classified as indirect (with conjunction) and direct (without conjunction) styles.

Indirect style decreases from the first to the third generations (51.1% (24/47); 48.1% (13/27) and 41.9% (13/31), respectively). The tendency is to avoid use of the subordinating conjunction, thereby avoiding the problem of verb form in the subordinate clause. Adjectival clauses as a whole also show a decrease in use and can be accounted for by the fact that if the process of relativization is incorporated by a speaker, it will be maintained and perfected. However, if the speaker has not done so and finds himself distanced from the Spanish linguistic system he will have difficulty in maintaining and perfecting it.

These examples demonstrate that situations of language contact lead to the production of changes in the minority language, whose speakers find themselves obliged to generate strategies in order to enable them to maintain their language as an integral part of their identity.

3.2.6 Gutiérrez (1993)

Although there are cases where linguistic innovation or change can occur without language contact, when language contact does occur it may accelerate the processes of change motivated by language internal factors (Dorian 1973 and Silva-Corvalán 1986b). Gutiérrez focuses on the opposition of **"ser/estar"** (both meaning "to be" but having different functions) found in Spanish to support the aforementioned hypothesis. This is accomplished first by the analysis of the innovative use of **"estar"** found in the monolingual Spanish

speech of the residents of Morelia, Michoacán, Mexico, and later, its comparison to similar innovations in the contact Spanish of Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles (initially studied by Silva-Corvalán 1986b).

The syntactic-semantic aspect of this linguistic change was examined through the analysis of recorded speech samples taken in 1986 and 1987 from 26 speakers from Morelia, Michoacán, the data from which were compared to the data collected among Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles. **"Estar"** is regarded as "innovative" when in the **"estar** + predicate adjective" structure, **"estar"** extends its semantic scope to the detriment of that of **"ser"**. For example:[11]

(1) G: **"La que me gustó mucho fue esta (sic),...la de Rambo."**
(The one I liked a lot was the one,... the one about Rambo.)
M: **"¿Rambo?"**
(Rambo?)
G: **"Sí, está muy buena esa película."**
(Yes, that movie is very good.)

(2) **"...tomaron a Morelia...eran bravos de la revolución d'esos rancheros bravos... y como el cerro está muy alto muy alto..."**
(...they took Morelia...they were angry about the revolution of those angry farmers... and since the hill is very high very high...)

(3) **"...yo creo que ella vivía de las rentas..., porque estaba grandísima la casa, si pues..."**
(...I think that she lived from the rents..., because the house was huge, of course...)

(4) **"...como el camión era muy grande tenía asiento de sobra,...no, como el carro de mi hijo también está muy grande,...tiene metro y medio más grande que todos..."**
(...since the truck was very big it had extra room,...no, like my son's car is also very

big,...it is a meter and a half larger than the all of them...)

The speakers of this variety of Spanish opted for **"estar"** in a context in which speakers of other varieties would have selected **"ser"**. Here, the semantic domain of **"estar"** has been extended into what has traditionally been considered part of the domain of **"ser"**.

Each instance of **"estar"** or **"ser"** appearing with a predicate adjective was counted. Those containing **"ser"** were then separated out and those containing **"estar"** were codified according to whether the copula was used in an innovative or prescriptive manner. Once all the information was organized, the percentage of innovative use of **"estar"** as opposed to the uses of **"ser"** was calculated. Statistical analysis corroborated that the extension that **"estar"** is experiencing has as a consequence a decrease in the semantic scope of **"ser"**.[12]

Analysis of the data gathered in Morelia indicated that even though the direction followed by this change is similar to that found in Los Angeles by Silva-Corvalán (1986b), the phenomenon is found to be in a more advanced state in the community in which Spanish exists in a situation of language contact. The fundamental difference is found in contexts, such as constructions including adjectives of color and perception, that have not been touched by innovative **"estar"** in Morelia, but have been in Los Angeles. The higher frequency of use of innovative **"estar"** (34%:422/1255 versus

16%:139/886) shows that the change is in a more advanced state within the bilingual community.

Even though Gutiérrez (1993) was initially conceived as a study of monolingual Mexican Spanish, it has been used as a basis for comparison with a contact variety. The findings suggest that bilingualism (or language contact) constitutes a factor that greatly influences the diffusion of linguistic changes.

3.2.7 Ocampo (1990)

Ocampo investigates what changes the subjunctive undergoes across three generations of Spanish-English bilinguals in East Los Angeles. Ocampo posits three questions: (a) What is the final result of the process--maintenance or loss of the mood? (b) What happens to the different shades of meaning that semantically distinguish the subjunctive from the indicative? and (c) If the subjunctive is lost, what contexts present the greatest tendency for this and what is the cause?

The data are taken from the same corpus gathered in East Los Angeles by Silva-Corvalán so that the definitions of the three generations established at that time have been maintained (Cf. Silva-Corvalán 1986b). Nine speakers were chosen for this study, three from each generation. In order to classify the data and compare the results from the three generations it was necessary to determine what constructions in Spanish utilize the subjunctive, and within them, which

ones employ the subjunctive mood exclusively and which allow for variation between subjunctive and indicative. By studying these categories, it is possible to observe that the variation in mood permits differences in meaning across domains ranging from the real (indicative) to the probable (subjunctive) to the unreal (subjunctive).

After identifying the various categories, the total verb forms present in each of the interviews were counted and classified together with the presence or absence of the subjunctive in categorical (grammatically conditioned) or variable (semantically conditioned) contexts. The total use of subjunctive decreases from 89% to 73% to 40% across the three generations. The presence of the subjunctive in categorical contexts decreases from 100% to 91% to 62%, in the first, second and third generations, respectively. In variable contexts, the same trend can be observed; subjunctive use decreases from 79% to 60% to 22%.

Although the sample is very small, there appears to be a tendency toward loss of the subjunctive mood in this language-contact situation. Its high rate of absence in variable contexts in the speech of the third generation shows that the subjunctive is losing ground as an option for the third generation. The decrease observed in categorical contexts together with the decrease in total usage indicates that formal restrictions are also being lost. Ocampo observed that the situation of language contact initiates a process that

begins with a decrease of subjunctive usage in contexts where variation is possible, which leads to the loss of semantic differences, followed by the elimination of formal (grammatical) restrictions, which finally terminates in the total disappearance of this mood.

3.3 Studies of Other Varieties of U.S. Spanish

3.3.1 Klein (1980)

This quantitative study of syntactic and semantic variables of Spanish-English bilingualism in the U.S. was carried out within the Puerto Rican community in New York City. It is based on the premise that contact between languages may bring about changes that only quantitative investigation can detect.

Klein concentrates on the simple present and present progressive tenses because both languages have constructions that are parallel morphologically and that are also partially similar in their conditions of use. The initial and general hypothesis was that the influence would be from English to Spanish because (1) in this country pressure for mastering English is greater than pressure for mastering Spanish; (2) English is associated with more prestige than Spanish and, therefore, bilinguals living in the U.S. might tend to reinterpret the more specific English system not only as more precise but also as "more correct"; and (3) identification of the two systems in the direction of English would be less

noticed, and, therefore, could go unchecked, because it does not give rise to ungrammatical utterances in either language.

Klein proposed that if the Spanish of the New York bilinguals were not influenced by English, it should not exhibit a significantly higher use of the progressive as compared to the island Puerto Rican control group. To prove this, Spanish simple or progressive present forms were divided into three classes according to the possibilities in English for communicating the equivalent message. The first class consisted of utterances which could be rendered in English by the simple present and are labeled SP. They were eliminated from further consideration since the languages coincide.

(1) **"El sol sale alrededor de las siete de la mañana."**
(The sun rises around 7 a.m.)

The second class, labeled ≠P, included utterances that could only be rendered in English in the progressive present form.

(2a) **"Mira, está saliendo el sol."**
"Mira, sale el sol."
(Look, the sun is coming out.)

The third and final class was composed of those utterances that in English could admit either simple or progressive present forms. These were labeled SP.

(3) **"El va a la escuela."**
(He goes/is going to school.)

"Está viviendo en los proyectos de la ciudad."
(She lives/is living in the city projects.)

In the ≠P utterances, where English differs from Spanish in not admitting the simple present, the New York speakers differed significantly from their Puerto Rican counterparts in

the direction of English usage. The PR group exhibited a 22.4% use of simple present forms (30/134) while the NY group exhibited a 3.9% use of simple present forms (5/127). The hypothesis was borne out in that the usage of the New York speakers was found to differ significantly from that of the Puerto Rican controls and did so in precisely in the manner that influence of English would predict: higher frequency of use of the progressive present and a correspondingly lower frequency of use of the simple present by the bilingual New York speakers.

3.3.2 Klein-Andreu (1985)

The purpose of Klein-Andreu's (1985) work is to study syntactic interference between languages; concentrating on the effect of English on the grammar of Spanish spoken by the New York Puerto Rican community. As examples, Klein-Andreu refers to two quantitative studies on the Spanish of this population; that of Pousada and Poplack (1982) regarding the usage of verb forms and hers (Klein 1980) which focuses on the use of present tense verb forms.[13] Although others have interpreted the results of these studies as contradictory, Klein-Andreu sees them as compatible inasmuch as they are based on different concepts of interference. She states that Pousada and Poplack's (1982) work is characterized by a valuational, and, thereby negative, concept of English interference. She faults Pousada and Poplack for not attempting to isolate the contexts in which there was already a motive to assume

possible influence. She states that they made no attempt to include contexts in which apparent syntactic anglicisms had been previously observed. To further support her argument against those who take a prescriptive view of syntactic anglicisms, mention is also made of Granda's (1968) study which mentions the structure of **"estar" + gerund** as an anglicism and which has been severely criticized by many other investigators as a completely unsubstantiated analysis. Both (Pousada and Poplack 1982 and Granda 1968) seem to be preoccupied with the "standard" form of Spanish and are based on the observations of Gili y Gaya (1966). According to Ervin and Osgood (1954), Lambert (1958) and Weinreich (1963) interference is produced by the tendency of the bilingual towards more equalization or levelling between the systems of the two languages which are already partially alike. Klein-Andreu applies this model to the speakers under study because she believes it is a more probable mechanism of interference.

Klein (1980) limited her investigation to a grammatical area where English and Spanish coincide only partially, present tense. English employs the present progressive verbal form while Spanish can use both the progressive and the simple present tense form in specific contexts. Here the linguistic difference between the two languages favors the levelling in the direction of English because change in the opposite direction would result in agrammaticality in the English speech of the bilingual. On the other hand, Pousada and

Poplack did not find interference simply because they went in search of radical and massive differences between the two languages rather than looking for grammatical interference of relatively low incidence. Pousada and Poplack's results, however, reveal the same type of difference that Klein-Andreu found, and in the same direction, if one merely separates from other referents those relating to the simple and progressive forms of the present. This gives further support to the hypothesis that changes which occur in the grammar of Spanish can be caused or affected by its contact with English.

3.3.3 Guitart (1982)

Guitart (1982) studied three groups: (1) seventeen Miami Cubans who considered themselves Spanish-dominant, (2) sixteen Venezuelan college students enrolled in a Southern college located in a rural area and who also considered themselves Spanish-dominant and (3) ten Mexican-Americans living near or in San Antonio, Texas, who by their own admission were English-dominant. The subjects were tested for indicative versus subjunctive mood selection in certain Spanish constructions. They were given an open-ended questionnaire (entirely in Spanish) consisting of five items. For each item the respondent was asked to complete a sentence on the basis of his/her own life experience. The first portion of each sentence contained the complementizer "que" in order to force the informants to finish the sentence with either a sentential complement or noun clause. Guitart hypothesized that the more

a Spanish-English bilingual is influenced by English in his use of Spanish, the less he will use the subjunctive in sentences in which the matrix comments on the clause.

According to prescriptive grammarians, when the matrix makes a comment on the clause, indicative (**IND**) is used in the clause when the information is presumably unshared and subjunctive (**SUB**) when it is shared. The results of the questionnaire indicated that the percentage of speakers who chose **IND** increased as the influence of English increased, without regard to whether the information was shared or unshared.

Mood Selection by Groups[14]

Mood Predicted	Actual Mood Chosen		
	Venezuelans	Cubans	Mexican-Americans
IND	**IND:** 56%	**IND:** 71%	**IND:** 100%
	SUB: 44%	**SUB:** 29%	**SUB:** 0%
IND	**IND:** 62%	**IND:** 76%	**IND:** 100%
	SUB: 38%	**SUB:** 24%	**SUB:** 0%
SUB	**IND:** 56%	**IND:** 59%	**IND:** 90%
	SUB: 25%	**SUB:** 24%	**SUB:** 10%
No Choice:	19%	17%	

The data supported the hypothesis in that Venezuelans (the group least influenced by English) used **SUB** more than Miami Cubans (who had been in the U.S. for a longer period of time, lived in a bilingual area and considered themselves Spanish-dominant) who, in turn, used **SUB** more than Mexican-Americans who considered themselves to be English-dominant.

3.3.4 Jagendorf (1988)

Jagendorf (1980) accepts Bolinger's (1975) concept of indefinite totality and Culler's (1976, 1986) statements that two languages are able to operate well with different articulations or distinctions and that a language can arbitrarily choose its signifiers and divide up the conceptual possibilities in any way it likes. In applying these ideas to her research, Jagendorf has found that the Spanish found in the articles from two Spanish language newspapers published in New York City (El Diario-La Prensa and Noticias del Mundo) and used by the (bilingual) speakers of contact Spanish has retained many of the conceptual articulations or distinctions of monolingual Spanish but that under the influence of English it has divided up other conceptual possibilities in a manner similar to that of English. Specifically, contact Spanish, like English but unlike monolingual Spanish, can communicate a message of indefinite totality.

Jagendorf divided the bilingual participants in her study into "traditional Spanish speakers" and "contact Spanish speakers".[15] The sole criterion for this division was the length of residence in the United States; those with less than five years were considered "traditional Spanish speakers" while those with more time in the United States were classified as "contact Spanish speakers". This categorization did not insure that those with short periods of residence had not been influenced by English nor was any attempt made to

ascertain dominance in either language. Those participants that had never resided in the U.S. (most of those from Argentina) were placed in the group of "traditional Spanish speakers". The study was designed to determine whether contact speakers would accept items containing preverbal bare subjects at a greater rate than traditional speakers.

Distributed to all respondents regardless of location were three versions of the first of three questionnaires which consisted of 20 isolated sentences [i.e., (1)**"Hombres no siempre hablan así."** (Men don't always speak like that.), (2)**"Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día."** (Tobacco costs a lot these days.), and (3)**"Casas fueron construídas."** (Houses were built.)][16] and five paragraphs [i.e., **"Entre todos tipos de vino existe una serie de características comunes que permiten calificarlos con el nombre general de vino. Vino no es una sustancia química con una composición definida de la que se puede dar la fórmula exacta, pero todos los tipos resultan de la fermentación de la uva fresca o del zumo de uvas frescas."** (Among all types of wine exists a series of common characteristics that permit their classification under the general name of wine. Wine is not a chemical substance with a defined composition whose exact formula can be given, but all types are the result of the fermentation of fresh grapes or of fresh grape juice.)]. The hypothesis was that contact Spanish speakers would tend to accept contact Spanish sentences at a greater rate than traditional Spanish speakers.

Because minimal corrections of unacceptable sentences were asked for in the second version, it became clear that the rejected sentences were considered unacceptable because the preverbal subject lacked a preceding article or modifier.

The second questionnaire contained nine pairs of sentences. In five pairs, one member was a contact sentence with a preverbal bare subject and the other contained a preverbal subject preceded by a definite singular article [(1a)**"Mujeres siempre hablan así."** (1b)**"Las mujeres siempre hablan así."** (Women always talk like that.)] The four remaining pairs contained only sentences which would generally be associated with traditional Spanish speakers; that is, having either serial, conjoined or postverbal subjects [(1a)**"Médicos y abogados ganan mucho dinero."** (1b)**"Los médicos y abogados ganan mucho dinero."** (Doctors and lawyers earn a lot of money.) and (2a)**"Sale el agua."** (2b)**"Sale agua."** (Water is coming out.)]. Informants were asked to consider whether each member of a pair was acceptable or not. It was possible for one or both sentences in a particular pair to be accepted or rejected.

Questionnaire III contained nine discourse samples wherein respondents were instructed to choose between two sentences to complete each discourse [(1)**"No te preocupes por lo que te dijo María. _____. Pero luego lo olvidan."** (a)**"Mujeres siempre hablan así."** (b)**"Las mujeres siempre hablan así."**]. The objective was to note whether

given a context, informants would complete the discourse with a traditional or contact Spanish sentence.

The results of the questionnaires were given in tables showing the percentage of each type of informant that accepted and rejected each type of sentences. When responses to contact sentences were considered alone, the prediction that contact informants accept contact items more frequently than traditional informants appears to be fully supported. The evidence showed that contact Spanish speakers are more likely than traditional Spanish speakers to accept sentences containing preverbal bare subjects. The tendency to accept preverbal bare subjects is symptomatic of the increasing influence of English on the Spanish of the bilingual population in the United States at large.

3.3.5 Torres (1989)

Torres (1989) studied first and second generation adult New York Puerto Ricans living in the community of East Harlem (El Barrio). She analyzed mood selection, focusing on the differences in the use of the subjunctive between Puerto Ricans who were born in New York and those born on the island.

Torres' work differs from most studies of mood selection in U.S. Spanish varieties which have attempted to show that contact with English results in the reduction of subjunctive verb usage where it is optional or required, in that it does not compare contact Spanish to monolingual Spanish but is, instead, an intergenerational study of the U.S. Spanish

variety. In addition, the data gathered were based solely on conversations. By not making a comparison with monolingual Spanish, the effects that contact with English (may) have had on the original dialect spoken by this population cannot be evaluated. However, Torres' work does bring to light the effects of sustained contact with English by showing the differences between the first and second generations. It is impossible to ascertain where the individuals may be on the bilingual continuum since this study did not measure the individual's ability in English.

Torres' investigation found that the subjunctive represents 4.7% of the first generation verb output and 4.0% of that of the second generation. The frequency of subjunctive usage across generations was not found to be significantly different. However, Torres did find that a difference in the distribution of subjunctives between the generations. In order to determine how the two generations use mood differently, the ten categories where standard grammars prescribe the use of the subjunctive provide the basis for the analysis of mood selection. The distribution is explained as the result of different pragmatics, rather than language loss. Differences in choice of mood are mostly determined by differences in the intent of the message, rather than by a difference in the Spanish language ability of the two generations. The second generation showed the most variation in conditional clauses. Prescriptive grammars state

that the clause stating the consequence of a situation that does not exist should be in the conditional yet the imperfect subjunctive was the norm for both "if" and result clauses for the first generation.[17] The second generation, however, reserved the imperfect subjunctive for use in the result clause. Although the latter have not lost this form, they have shifted its function. In this case, both generations differ from the prescribed norm but in a different way. Therefore, Torres concludes that unlike other studies of Southwest and U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish, increased contact with English does not appear to produce any significant difference in the frequency of subjunctive use between generations.[18]

3.4 Monolingual Mexican Spanish: Cantero Sandoval (1978)

Under most circumstances Spanish subject pronouns can be expressed or omitted. Omission of the pronominal form is the norm in 70% of the Spanish found in a corpus of Mexican Spanish collected by Cantero Sandoval.[19] Overt subject pronouns can be divided into those required for semantic/syntactic reasons, and those which are more nearly optional and redundant. In the latter cases, the subject pronoun can be removed from the context without modifying or eliminating the understanding of the message in sentences such as **"Yo** me quedé con la familia de mi mamá." (I stayed with my mother's family.)[20] The presence of the pronoun obeys the cases where it is the intention of the speaker to emphasize a

determinate person as actor. If the expression is not one of emphasis, the pronoun is redundant. Cantero attempts a syntactic classification of the emphatic usage which includes:

1) the contrastive function or accumulation which is accomplished through when words such as also ("**también**") are added in sentences such as "Nosotros **también** estuvimos allí." (We were there **also.**);

2) the presence of affirmative and negative adverbs in contexts such as "¿Cómo? ¡¿que **tú** no lo sabes?!" (What? **You (sing. fam.)** don't know it?!);

3) the combination of pronominal expression with verbs of intellectual perception such as saber, suponer, dudar, pensar, creer, etc. These appeared abundantly with the pronoun "yo" in the corpus studied by Cantero Sandoval in situations such as "**Yo** creo que..." (I think that...) and "**Yo** opino que..." (I believe that...) and "**Yo** considero que..." (I consider that...); and

4) the appearance of the subject pronoun in combination with imperative forms in expressions such as "Fíjate, **tú**, qué lindo" ([**You, sg. fam.**] See, how pretty!) or "Vaya **usted** a pedirle consejo a un cura" (**You [sg. formal]** go ask advice from a priest).

The only statistics that Cantero Sandoval offers are approximate percentages of omitted (70%) and expressed (30%) subject pronouns, which he bases on 25 hours of Mexican speech which he claims to have gathered.[21] However, based on his explanations, this work supports the position that Mexican Spanish which is not in contact with English uses subject pronouns only under special circumstances. Otherwise, null subjects are the accepted norm and the use of overt subject pronouns is considered redundant and unacceptable.

3.5 Notes

1. Guitart's study also includes Mexican bilinguals from Texas so that it illustrates the effects of language contact on more than one community.

2. All examples and glosses in this section are taken from Silva-Corvalán (1982).

3. These are considered same reference subjects by Silva-Corvalán while those that do not share referent are considered switch reference subjects.

4. Like Guitart (1982), Lantolf's study covers more than one speech community and sheds light on the results of contact with English on the Puerto Rican dialect(s).

5. Four examples from the questionnaire show sentences in which locative phrases or gerunds appear as a nominal modifier. These are considered unacceptable in monolingual dialects according to normative grammarians such as Bello (1970), Gili y Gaya (1969), Goldin (1976) and Ramsey and Spaulding (1956) and Lantolf's monolingual Spanish speakers.

a. "La muchacha cantando es mi prima."
(The girl singing is my cousin.)
b. "Dále el juguete sobre la cama."
(Give him/her the toy on the bed.)
c. "La bandera colgando del edificio está rota."
(The flag hanging from the building is torn.)
d. "El teléfono afuera no funciona."
(The telephone outside isn't working.)
(Lantolf 1983:8) The glosses are mine.

6. While English may not have directly influenced the formation of sentences like **"En terminando nos vamos."**, it may well have reinforced elements within the Chicano macrostructure that tend toward the development **en**-plus-gerund configurations. **Estar**-plus-locative constructions directly implicate the English rule of relative clause reduction. Monolingual dialects of Spanish block relative clause reduction precisely in the environments in which English and U.S. dialects of Spanish permit it.

7. Group I includes speakers born in Mexico who immigrated to the U.S. after the age of eleven. Group II is composed of speakers born in the U.S. or who emigrated from Mexico before age six and at least one parent fits definition of Group I. Group III comprises speakers born in the U.S. and whose parents must be of Mexican ancestry and fit the definition of Group II.

8. All examples, including glosses, in this section are taken from Silva-Corvalán (1986b).

9. The four linguistic variables of subject NPs under study are:

1. the use of null pronouns
2. the use of overt pronouns
3. the placement of subject NPs in relation to the verb
4. the linking properties of overt pronouns and setential antecedents

10. These figures include nominal and adjectival subordinate clauses and adverbial adjuncts.

11. Even though the examples in this section are taken from Gutiérrez (1993), the glosses are mine.

12. There was no mention as to whether any analysis was made of the instances where "**ser**" appeared with a predicate adjective in order to determine whether "**ser**" was acquiring functions usually reserved for "**estar**". In fact, if all the instances of "**ser**" were separated out initially, this would obliterate any possible shifts in the opposite direction.

13. See Section 4.3.1 for a more detailed account of Klein (1980).

14. All information in the table is taken from Guitart (1982).

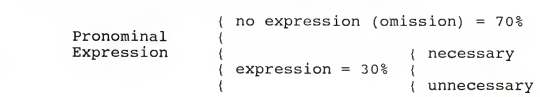
15. Most of the informants originated in the Dominican Republic (18), Puerto Rico (44) and Argentina (67), although there were some from Central America (10), South American countries other than Argentina (10), Cuba (5) and Spain (1).

16. The previous examples and all others are taken from Jagendorf (1988). The glosses, however, are mine.

17. The first generation showed almost no variation in that the conditional was rarely used in the result clause.

18. Torres states that while each generation employs code-switching and borrowing strategies, the second generation relies on them to a greater extent, indicating that there is **some** influence from English on the Spanish spoken by the members of this community. Unfortunately, she never clarifies to what sort of borrowing strategies she is referring.

19. According to Cantero Sandoval (1978:261, fn 2), based on a corpus of 25 hours of Mexican speech, the following diagram can be drawn regarding pronominal usage:



20. Although the Spanish examples in this section are taken from Cantero Sandoval (1978), the glosses are mine.

21. Unfortunately, Cantero Sandoval does not further subdivide the 30% of expressed subjects into those which are necessary and which are redundant.

CHAPTER 4

THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

Although societal bilingualism occurs when two or more languages are spoken in a given society, the determination of whether or not a given person is bilingual is not a simple matter. Full competence in the second language may not necessarily be achieved and a less than perfect version of the second language may become common among a group of second-language speakers. Thus, even though a common result of language contact is bilingualism, it is also possible for one language to replace the other. In other words, bilingual contact can act as a conduit for change which occurs when new generations of language learners construct underlying grammars which differ from the surface variants to which they are exposed (Green 1993), thereby making the bilingual individual both the locus of contact and the agent of transfer.

Although other researchers have studied a variety of Spanish dialects across the United States, the language community represented by the individuals participating in this study has been neglected thus far even though it is among the most numerous populations of contact Spanish speakers in the State of Texas, which has one of the highest concentrations of

Spanish speakers in the country.[1] The U.S. Bureau of Census (1993) figures show that 19.5% of the total U.S. Hispanic population as well as 28.8% of the total U.S. population claiming to be of Mexican origin can be found in Texas.[2] This means that 89.7% of the Hispanics residing in Texas are of Mexican origin.[3] In Harris County, Texas, where my study was conducted, 80% of the total Hispanic population is of Mexican/Mexican-American origin. Of the 2,818,199 people who reside in Harris county, 22.88% or 644,935 claim to be Hispanic. 516,281 of the Hispanics maintain that they are of Mexican origin or extraction (U.S. Census, 1990). In spite of their increasing numbers, this population has thus far been ignored by linguists. If we are to gain a better understanding of Spanish as it exists in the United States and the changes that prolonged exposure to English can bring about, it is essential that populations such as this one be investigated.

4.2 Population of the Study

4.2.1 Location of the Participants

The participants in this project form part of the Mexican and Mexican-American population of Houston, Texas, and its surrounding area. Most of them live in Spanish-speaking barrios or neighborhoods located throughout the metropolitan area, although some live in small towns and communities, such as Baytown and Richmond, which are located nearby and are considered suburbs of Houston.

Although Hispanics have lived in Houston since before statehood, the 1970 Census of Population figures cite the total population of the Houston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area as 1,985,031 inhabitants. The population is further divided into 1,587,485 "White", 382,382 "Negro" and 15,164 "Other races," comprised of Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino and "All other" (Table 24, 1970 Census of Population, Part 45). During this time the Hispanics of the Texas, and therefore, of this city were considered to be part of the "White" population.

According to the 1980 Census of Population, 2,982,583 individuals in the State of Texas claimed to be of Spanish origin. 2,744,550 were classified as Mexicans, 21,956 Puerto Ricans, 13,616 Cubans and 202,461 were lumped together as "Other Spanish" (Table 100, 1980 Census of Population, Part 45). Although the report for 1980 did not break down the population of Spanish origin for individual cities, it does state that 423,428 persons in Houston claimed to be of Spanish origin (Table 151, 1980 Census of Population, Part 45). The Houston area has been a center for immigration from all parts of the globe for decades. The records from the Bureau of the Census on Hispanic immigration from Mexico and Central and South America date back to before 1950. The 1980 Census of Population reports that through that year, 93,718 Mexicans claimed to have immigrated to Houston.[4] Hispanics from Guatemala and El Salvador numbered 2,616 (no other Central

Americans are mentioned), Cubans equalled 4,481, and South Americans totalled 8,605 for the same period. Of the total 220,861 foreign-born persons in Houston in 1980, 109,420 (49.5%) were of Hispanic origin. Another 47,940 of these individuals arrived from the various Asian countries, 11,659 (24.3%) of whom were Vietnamese (Table 195, 1980 Census of Population, Part 45).

The 1990 Census of Population indicates that in the foreign-born population of Houston, Mexicans numbered 132,596; Central Americans (this time all seven countries were included) numbered 39,289; Cuban immigration had dropped to 3,213; and, South Americans totaled 12,250 (Table 168, 1990 Census of Population, Part 45). Foreign-born Hispanics equalled 187,348, or 64.5% of the total foreign-born population in the city of Houston. To this can be added 57,359 Asians, of which the Vietnamese population of 15,568 comprises the largest percentage (27.1%).[5] The Hispanic population (no race distinction made) of Houston, TX, according to 1990 population figures was 450,483 persons (Table 3, 1990 Census of Population, Part 45). 358,503 of this total are classified as Mexicans (Table C, 1990 Census of Population, Part 45). Because the data is based on sample and is subject to sampling variability, the figures show a decrease when both race and Hispanic origin are considered. In Table 7 of the 1990 Census figures, those who admitted to being of Hispanic origin number 442,943. Of these, 357,508

claim Mexican descent (80.7%). Central Americans contributed 45,201 individuals to the Hispanic population, 32,747 (72.4%) of whom were Salvadoran. The Asian population of the city was equal to 65,532, of which 18,101 (27.6%) were Vietnamese.[6]

To accommodate this diversity, Spanish language newspapers published in Houston as well as those imported from Mexico and other Latin American countries (Chance Bilingual Publications, El Heraldo, El México, El Universal, Exito Newspaper, Imagen Prensa Hispana, La Prensa Latina, La Subasta, La Voz de Houston, México Newspaper) are available to the Spanish-speaking population. In addition, the six local Spanish radio stations (KLTN "Estéreo Latino", KLAT "La Tremenda", KLVL "Radio Pasadena", KMPQ "Radio Impacto" "Radio KQQK", KYST "Radio Alegría") and the two Spanish television stations (KTMD "Telemundo", KXLN "Univisión") cater to the musical tastes and viewing needs of the Hispanic inhabitants. Although the Asian population has fewer publications (China Journal, Chinese Business News, Indo American News, Komerican Post, The Korea Times, Korean Dong [weekly], Korean Journal, Ngay Nay Newspaper, Thuong Mai Vietnam) and even fewer radio (Radio Sedayeh Iran) and television stations (Vietnam Vision of America), they are available so that its members can also be informed and entertained.

The Mexican population is concentrated in what is known as the Fourth Ward, located south and east of downtown Houston. The Central American population is concentrated in

the near southwest section of the city, in an area directly west of the independent City of Bellaire but inside Beltway 8 (The Sam Houston Tollway) which separates this Spanish-speaking population from the Asian neighborhood, and the businesses and apartment complexes recently refurbished by the Vietnamese. As one moves further west to the community of Alief, one finds an uneasy mixture Latin American and Asian cultures, which has, at times, led to violence between ethnic teenage gangs. A mixture of Black American and Latin American cultures can be found in the shadow of the University of Houston, once again near the downtown area. With the exception of some very exclusive and English-speaking neighborhoods, Houston is a multilingual and multicultural city whose diverse populations, although living in generally ethnically defined areas, are in constant contact with one another.

4.2.2 Description (Definition) of Participants

In order to achieve the stated goals, I recruited subjects from each of three levels of bilingualism. I selected the participants and grouped them on the basis of a self-evaluation of their ability/inability to handle both English and Spanish, although I also considered place of birth and that of their parents in making the determination. I divided the respondents into the following three groups: (1) Spanish monolinguals or first generation Spanish speakers; (2) fluent or Spanish-dominant bilinguals, who are second

generation speakers and; (3) Spanish "semi-speakers", who are otherwise described as English-dominant bilinguals or third generation speakers. More precise definitions and explanations will be given in the sections dedicated to defining and describing each of the groups.

It is important that both the "semi-speakers" and fluent bilinguals have approximately the same level of literacy as the other members in the appropriate group so that any deviations from Standard Mexican Spanish can be attributed to linguistic rather than educational or literacy factors. Graduation from High School or its equivalent (GED) is an appropriate minimum level of education for these informants, since a High School education in the United States should yield at least a bilingual in those whose first language is Spanish. For those whose knowledge of Spanish is vestigial, Spanish language classes in the secondary school places them in the class of "semi-speakers". Although a majority of the informants of both of these groups were undergraduate students attending the University of Houston at the time I conducted the study, there are participants in each category who had not attended or were not attending college at that time. However, a college education is considered very important even to those in all three classifications who have been unable to achieve this goal. Furthermore, monolingual participants who are parents are determined to see that their children receive the

education they did not; this means at least an undergraduate college degree.

4.2.2.1 Monolingual informants

The twenty-three members of this group form the control group that establishes the normal usage and behavior of subject pronouns within the Mexican/Mexican-American population of Houston. They are monolingual speakers of Spanish; that is, Spanish speakers who were born in Mexico and emigrated to the United States after the age of eleven years. Their native Mexican Spanish has been tempered by contact with other Mexican immigrants who were already in Houston at the time of their arrival and whose Spanish had already reached an accommodation within the bilingual environment. They tend to be working class people whose understanding and production of English is either non-existent or so minimal that it is useless for communication. Some are able to understand and sometimes produce isolated words and/or phrases, but are unable to take part in any conversation conducted entirely in English. According to the 1990 Census of Population (Table 167), of the 361,231 Spanish speakers found in the city of Houston, 32,778 (9.1%) speak English "not at all", and an additional 78,231 (21.7%) speak English "not well". This means that about 30% of the Spanish speaking population five years and older are not fluent speakers of English.

4.2.2.2 Spanish-dominant bilingual informants

The twenty-eight Spanish-dominant bilinguals, or second generation speakers, are those bilinguals who were either born in the United States or who emigrated from Mexico to the U.S. prior to the age of eleven years. Additionally, one of his/her parents belongs to the group of monolingual speakers defined above.[7] They are individuals who have mastered both languages and tend to be comfortable in either. Due to the fact that they learned Spanish first, they consider Spanish to be their mother tongue. Their phonological, syntactic, morphological and semantic control of Spanish is equivalent to that of monolingual speakers. Furthermore, they comprehend the subtle nuances of the language and have native-speaker intuitions regarding the language. At the level of discourse, they employ the same or very similar strategies that would be expected and attributed to monolingual speakers. Although they tend to be comfortable in either language, they prefer Spanish, especially when in the company of other Spanish speakers. The members of this group were reared in a home environment in which Spanish was constantly, even if not exclusively, spoken. For the most part, they rate themselves as having native capabilities in Spanish while having near native or good abilities in English and, thus, can be said to perceive themselves to manage better in Spanish.

4.2.2.3 English-dominant bilingual informants

The twenty-one third generation speakers are bilinguals who were born in the United States and whose parents are of Mexican ancestry; that is, whose parents would, by definition, belong to the second generation group. These individuals are insecure in their use of Spanish and clearly are more comfortable using English. They tend to speak haltingly in Spanish until they relax, and even then, their ability is below that of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. They differ from Spanish-dominant bilinguals in that the length of their utterances is shorter, their overall vocabulary contains fewer items, they constantly hesitate/pause while they search for the correct structure and/or vocabulary item, they commit both noun/adjective and subject/verb agreement errors, display incorrect verb conjugation, and employ very simple sentence construction. In fact, their overall grammatical control is limited. In some cases, their phonology includes phonemes from English which do not form part of the Spanish inventory and are lacking some which are a part thereof. They were reared in households where English, rather than Spanish, was generally used and, in some cases, where Spanish usage was discouraged. They all consider themselves to be Mexican-Americans or Chicanos and tend to express shame or embarrassment regarding their inability to be fluent in the language of their ancestors. None of the participants in this study fall into the category of those Spanish-recessive

bilinguals who do not culturally identify with Mexican-Americans and for whom the ability to speak Spanish fluently has no importance.

4.3 Data Collection

All the data for this project were gathered during the period from July, 1992, to April, 1994. The information consisted of recorded interviews and a written questionnaire which I developed to elicit grammaticality judgments from the informants. I told the participants that they were taking part in a linguistic study concerning the characteristics of Mexican/Mexican-American spoken Spanish in Houston, but gave no specific details as to the structure(s) under consideration so as not to elicit or discourage the traits I was investigating.

4.3.1 Recorded Interviews

To gather the necessary data, I conducted and tape recorded a 30 to 45-minute interview with each of fifteen monolingual, twenty-eight Spanish-dominant and twenty-one English-dominant informants. The fact that I had lived and taught in Houston and had previously conducted field research within other Spanish-speaking populations in the Houston area made the task both easier and more enjoyable. Each conversation was held entirely in Spanish, with occasional lapses into English by the "semi-speakers" when vocabulary became a problem or when any of the bilinguals resorted to code-switching. To minimize, if not totally eliminate the

Observer's Paradox[8], each speaker was allowed to discuss any topic or topics of his/her own choosing and with which s/he felt comfortable or knowledgeable. In addition, the interviews took place either in the homes of the informants or in another setting in which they were equally comfortable. I employed a small hand held Sanyo (Model M1119) cassette recorder with an internal microphone in order to make the equipment as inconspicuous as possible, so that by minimizing its presence, the self-consciousness and nervousness of the participants would also be minimized. It was important to capture a representative sample of each informant's speech to see if, in fact, the phenomenon under study is evidenced in his/her Spanish conversation. The answers to questions I posed regarding early childhood experiences and family life generally provided the needed samples from those who were reticent or uncomfortable at the outset of the interview. Most, however, found it easy, if not pleasurable to tell their stories. In fact, some were surprised when the taping ended after 45 minutes. The candor and openness of the great majority of informants makes these conversations excellent indicators of each individual's normal speech patterns. After the first few minutes, most forgot they were being recorded. Knowing beforehand that I am a Guatemalan and therefore a native speaker of Spanish seemed to help them relax since most of the informants are quite comfortable with Central Americans due to the recent increase in the number of immigrants from

Guatemala and El Salvador into the Houston area. The fact that most were my own former students or students of colleagues helped as well. The monolingual participants were either friends or relatives of people who knew me or another of the informants. All were quite eager to be part of a study that would add to the understanding of their particular dialect of Spanish and are very proud of their Mexican heritage.

So as to limit any influence on the data, I spoke as little as possible during the recording session. In most cases, especially with the monolinguals and the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, asking them to recount childhood experiences either in Mexico or the United States and to discuss family life were all that I had to say in order to elicit long narratives which required no further intervention. The "semi-speakers", however, required more encouragement in order to obtain excerpts of uninterrupted discourse.

In order to study a sample of each individual's natural speech, I disregarded the first five minutes of each conversation when I transcribed the tapes as I considered this time to be a warm-up period during which the informant was able to gain confidence and feel at ease. I then transcribed the fifteen to twenty minutes of the speech sample following this initial period so that I could determine and analyze both the pattern and frequency of use of subject pronouns in each informant's speech. It was necessary to isolate segments of

uninterrupted narrative in order to accurately determine the pattern(s) of subject pronoun usage attributable to each of the three generations of Spanish speakers.

4.3.2 Written Questionnaires

At the time of the interview, I asked each participant to fill out a "Personal Information Sheet". The form given to the monolingual participants was written entirely in Spanish while the two groups of bilingual informants were given a sheet in either English or Spanish, according to their preference. Copies of the various Personal Information forms can be found in Appendix I.

After the interview, a three-part questionnaire containing grammaticality judgments in both languages and a translation exercise from English to Spanish either was presented for completion or mailed out to the bilingual participants. A number of them failed to respond and I was forced to obtain additional informants who were willing to fill out the questionnaires. I interviewed most of the members of the latter group although a few chose only to participate in the written portion of the investigation. See Appendix II for a sample copy of the questionnaire completed by the bilingual respondents.

Section I contains three questions pertaining to language preference and frequency of use.

The grammaticality judgments begin with Section II which contains 30 sentences. For this portion of the questionnaire

respondents were asked to (1)read each sentence and correct it if it contained any grammatical error; (2)indicate if the sentence is considered correct but does not seem natural or sound "right"; (3)indicate if the sentence is grammatical but is something which they themselves would not use; and, (4)translate each sentence into English. This section displays a series of sentences in Spanish expressing the obligatory/optional nature of subject pronouns.

(1) ["Ø Vimos una pelicula muy buena."
[**We**] saw a very good movie.

(2) "**Yo** creo que Ø soy muy inteligente."
I think **I** am very intelligent.

It also includes sentences in which an expletive element is necessary in English but where Spanish does not allow an overt subject, such as weather expressions, "**haber**" expressions and indefinite subjects, where in Spanish there is a difference between (3) "Ø Dicen que Ø va a llover."
[**They**] say that [it] is going to rain.

(4) "Lo **hay** varias peliculas buenas aquí."
There are several good movies here.

(5a) "**Ellos** llaman a la puerta."
They (definite subject) are knocking at the door.

(5b) "Ø Llaman a la puerta."
Someone is knocking at the door.

Declarative sentences displaying subject-verb inversion were also included in the exercise since they, too, must be included in any investigation on the usage of subject pronouns.

(6) "Ya han llegado **mis amigos.**"
Already have arrived **my friends.**

(7) Vinieron **muchos estudiantes** al principio de la presentación.
Arrived **many students** at the beginning of the presentation.

The third and final section concentrates on English usage and is divided into two parts. In section IIIA, the informants are asked to (1)state whether the sentence is correct or incorrect; (2)modify the sentence if it contains error(s); and (3)translate the acceptable sentence into Spanish. This portion of the questionnaire displays English sentences with and without overt subjects, that have subject-verb inversion or contain elements similar to those found in Section II such as weather expressions and the pleonastic "there" which is missing from sentence (11).

(8a) "**Ø** Watched a very bad movie last night."

(8b) "**Mark** is very tired."

(9a) "Already have arrived **my friends**."

(9b) "**I** telephoned my friends."

(10a) "**Ø** Is very cold in Alaska in winter."

(10b) "**It** is very sunny at the beach."

(11) "Is **Ø** a very large chalkboard in our Spanish class."

In Section IIIB, respondents are asked to translate a paragraph from English into Spanish. It contains sentences whose structures parallel those of the sentences in the two preceding sections.[9]

The original group of monolinguals I interviewed were also mailed a written questionnaire. None of them responded.

Those I was able to contact offered a number of reasons for not having done so, but when pressed, they admitted to either not being able to read or write or both. They did not want to continue to participate in the study although I offered to help them with the questionnaire by reading it to them and writing down their answers. In order to continue with and complete the research, I recruited ten additional monolingual volunteers to take part in the study. They all filled out the questionnaire and five of them insisted on also being interviewed. For those individuals who could not read or write, I read the sentences to them and wrote down their responses.

For obvious reasons, the questionnaire for this group of informants has only one section which contains the same thirty sentences found in Section II of the bilingual questionnaire. The monolingual informants were asked to (1)read each sentence and correct it if it contains any grammatical errors and (2)indicate if the sentence is correct but does not seem "natural", doesn't sound right or is something he/she would not say.

4.4 Data Analysis

4.4.1 Demographic Data

4.4.1.1 Monolingual informants

The monolingual informants range in age from 24 to 71 years. The wide range in age is necessary in order to maintain the requirement of residency in Houston of at least

eight to ten years. The ages spanned are also attributable to the great reticence on the part of many younger monolinguals to participate in the study. They are either ashamed of the way they speak and their lack of education, are fearful of an educated person they do not know well or are uncomfortable due to their illegal status.

The age distribution for monolingual informants is shown in Table 4.1 below.

TABLE 4.1

Age Distribution
Monolingual Respondents

Decade	Number of Respondents
20's	4
30's	4
40's	6
50's	7
60's	1
70's	1

The length of residence in the United States ranges from 8 to 45 years, with the average length of residency being almost 18 years in Houston. One of the older respondents, who has spent 35 years in Houston, arrived at the age of 23. Nevertheless, it has been unnecessary for her to learn English because she lives in a totally Spanish-speaking barrio and has always stayed home, either rearing her own children or taking care of the children of relatives and neighbors. Any situation requiring the use of English has been taken care of either by her children or grandchildren, all of whom speak

English with varying degrees of ability. This woman's situation is typical of the respondents in the group, regardless of sex. Although the men who fall into this category do not remain at home (as evidenced by the man who has been in the United States for 45 years), all work with other Mexicans or other Spanish speakers; any communication in English which might be necessary in order to accomplish their work is performed by either co-workers or friends who speak English. This dependence on others for communication has enabled these individuals to remain monolingual despite their many years in the Houston area. The distribution of their length of residency in the Houston area is shown below in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2

Length of Residency Distribution
Monolingual Respondents

Years	Number of Respondents
8-10	6
11-15	6
16-20	4
21-25	2
26-30	3
30+	2

A minimum of eight years of residency in Houston was established as necessary to allow for the levelling of any linguistic characteristics attributable to the individuals' birthplace in Mexico and for the adjustment of their speech to the Spanish spoken in the area although some people apparently

maintain their regional characteristics for decades. It was felt that the aforementioned period provided enough time in order to become accustomed to the Spanish spoken in the area and that any desire to blend in with the patterns of already established population could be achieved. Of the twenty-three participants, twelve were born in the northern states which share a border with the United States. Nine of the informants originated and lived in the central portion of Mexico, including Mexico City. The remaining two informants simply stated that they were born in Mexico without giving a precise location.

The monolingual informants originate in nine different Mexican states. 48% of the respondents (11) came from three of the northern states which border the United States, 82% of which are from Nuevo León (9), with the remaining 18% equally divided between Chihuahua (1) and Tamaulipas (1). Another 48% (11) arrived in Houston from Central Mexico. 54.5% of these originated in the state of Guanajuato (6). San Luis Potosí provided another 18% (2) and the remaining 27% came from Aguas Calientes (1), Zacatecas (1) and the Distrito Federal (Mexico City) (1). 4% of the participants (1) originated in Michoacán, on the Pacific Coast of Mexico.

The level of formal education of the members of this group varies as widely as that of the other classifications, from none at all to university degrees. The number of

respondents and their corresponding level of formal education (in Spanish) are shown in Table 4.3 below.

TABLE 4.3

Level of Formal Education

Monolingual Respondents

Level of Education	Number of Respondents
None	5
Incomplete Elementary	3
Complete Elementary	6
Incomplete Secondary	1
Complete Secondary	2
Vocational/Technical Training	3
Some College	1
Completed College	2
Graduate School	0

4.4.1.2 Spanish-dominant bilingual informants

When the Spanish-dominant bilinguals were asked to rate their spoken ability in Spanish, all but one informant answered. Of the twenty-seven individuals who rated themselves, twelve (44%) indicated their ability to be that of a native, nine (33%) rated themselves as having near native ability, four (15%) said they spoke it well, and two (7%) rated themselves as fair. Those who rated their ability as either good or fair, explained that this was due to lack of formal schooling in the language and, therefore, felt that their Spanish lacked elements that would classify it as native or near native.

Their evaluations of their ability to speak English are similar, but the numbers shift a bit to the lower end of the

scale. With respect to English proficiency, eleven participants (41%) see themselves as native speakers and seven (26%) as having near native ability, while four (15%) see their spoken English as good and five (18%) rate themselves with only a fair command of spoken English.

Of the twelve respondents who rated themselves with a native ability in Spanish, only two see themselves as having an equal ability in English. The remaining speakers rated their ability to speak English lower than their Spanish capability. Four of the ten rated their English ability as near native, three as good and another three as fair. This same trend can be seen when the two languages are compared in the other category of bilinguals. However, there are two cases where the individuals have rated their spoken ability in both languages at the lower end of the scale (fair). This was puzzling in that both of these individuals have taken courses in both Spanish and English while attending college. When asked about this, both persons attributed their low ratings to poor communication skills and a shy personality rather than lack of knowledge of the languages involved.

These informants have ages ranging from 20 to 65 years. However, it is important to note that 71% of them are in their 20's. Again, there were a number of informants (four) who exceeded the 55-year age limit originally established for the participation in the study. The age distribution is shown in Table 4.4 below.

TABLE 4.4

Age Distribution
Spanish-Dominant Bilingual Respondents

Decade	Number of Respondents
20's	20
30's	1
40's	2
50's	3
60's	2

Of the twenty-eight Mexicans and Mexican-Americans that fell into this category, eighteen were born in the United States. Of them, all were born in Texas except for one young man who was born in Torrance, California. He, however, has been a resident of Houston, Texas, since the age of eight years. Of the seventeen Texans, eleven were born and have continuously resided either within the Houston city limits or in Harris County. Five of the six remaining Texas natives originated in border towns in the Rio Grande Valley. The remaining participant comes from the town of Kenedy, between San Antonio and Corpus Christi, in Karnes County, just north of the Rio Grande Valley. In spite of the variety of birthplaces, all these informants have lived in Houston a minimum of 10 years and appear to have adjusted their Spanish to conform to the local variety.

Among the ten members of this group that were born in Mexico, the length of residence in the United States ranges from 13 to 39 years, with the average length of residency being 22.5 years in Houston. The time they have spent in

Houston has caused their Spanish to conform to that which is spoken in this metropolitan area by those who arrived before them. The distribution for the length of residency in Houston for those born in Mexico is shown below in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5

Length of Residency Distribution

Mexican-born Spanish-Dominant Respondents

Years	Number of Respondents
8-10	0
11-15	1
16-20	4
21-25	3
26-30	1
30+	1

The level of formal education for the members of this group varies widely, from no formal education in either Spanish or English to university degrees. Seventy-five percent of the informants have studied English in college and sixty-eight percent of them have taken college level Spanish courses. Two respondents lacked formal education in English and two others said they had not received any formal schooling in Spanish, but had learned their Spanish at home from either parents or grandparents. The distribution of respondents according to their level of formal education in English and Spanish is shown in Table 4.6 below.

TABLE 4.6

Level of Formal Education
Spanish-Dominant Bilingual Respondents

Level of Education	Number of Respondents	
	English	Spanish
None	2	2
Incomplete Elementary	0	2
Complete Elementary	2	0
Incomplete Secondary	0	2
Complete Secondary	1	2
Vocational/Technical Training	0	0
Some college	21	19
Completed College	2	1
Graduate School	0	0

4.4.1.3 English-dominant bilingual informants

The twenty-one English-dominant bilingual informants range from 21 to 37 years of age. The age distribution is shown in Table 4.7 below.

TABLE 4.7
Age Distribution
English-Dominant Bilingual Respondents

Decade	Number of Respondents
20's	14
30's	7
40's	0
50's	0

When asked to rate their spoken ability in Spanish, only one participant (5%) in this group indicated that her ability was that of a native speaker. One other female (5%) rated herself as having near native ability. Of the remaining nineteen participants falling under this category, five (23%) said they spoke it well, one (5%) indicated an ability between

good and fair, nine (43%) rated themselves as fair and three (14%) said that they spoke Spanish poorly. One respondent (5%) refused to provide the information requested.

The ratings in English show an upward trend. Eighteen participants (85%) see themselves as native speakers, one (5%) as having near native ability, one additional respondent (5%) sees his spoken English as good and the young man previously mentioned refused to participate in this section of the questionnaire (5% of the sample).

The one respondent who rates herself with a native ability in Spanish also sees herself as speaking English at the same level of competence. The rest of the participants who rated themselves all indicated that they are better able to function in English than Spanish.

All but one of the respondents were born in Texas. Seven of them were born in the Houston metropolitan area with an additional four in nearby towns (Richmond, Baytown and Wharton). Five participants originated in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas and of the remaining four, one was born in San Antonio (Central Texas), two in DeLeon (North Central Texas) and one in Lubbock (West Texas). All have been in Houston for a minimum of 10 years. The remaining young lady was born in Coahuila, Mexico, and has lived in the United States for 18 of her 23 years (the last 15 years in Houston).

Although all members of this group have received formal education in English, the level thereof ranges from incomplete

secondary through Graduate School. Their formal education in Spanish varies widely; from no formal education whatsoever to completion of college courses. However, the majority of respondents fall into the "some college" category, with 62% having taken English courses and 57% of them studying Spanish at the university. The distribution is shown in Table 4.8 below.

TABLE 4.8

Level of Formal Education
English-Dominant Bilingual Respondents

Level of Education	Number of Respondents	
	English	Spanish
None	0	4
Incomplete Elementary	0	0
Complete Elementary	0	0
Incomplete Secondary	1	1
Complete Secondary	1	3
Vocational/Technical Training	0	0
Some college	13	12
Completed College	4	1
Graduate School	2	0

4.4.2 Written Questionnaires

4.4.2.1 Introduction

The questionnaire (See Appendix II) distributed to the monolingual respondents consisted of thirty sentences for which respondents provided grammaticality judgments and indicated whether or not they would use such sentences in their daily conversational Spanish (although they were not requested to provide any reason(s) for their choice). These thirty sentences can be divided into the following groupings:

(1) 16 sentences with unnecessary (overt) subject pronoun(s) (Questions 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 29 and 30); (2) 4 sentences with null subject(s) (Questions 2, 6, 16 and 22); (3) 5 declarative sentences with subject-verb inversion (Questions 4, 10, 17, 21 and 25); (4) 2 sentences with **haber** (Questions 15 and 27); and (5) 1 sentence showing the use of a resumptive pronoun (Question 24). The remaining two sentences (Questions 26 and 28) display a combination of subject-verb inversion and unnecessary (overt) subject pronoun(s). The responses to each type of sentence were analyzed in comparison to prescriptive usage (as taught in Spanish language and grammar courses) so that any deviations between the standard and this monolingual Mexican dialect could be determined.[10] Standard prescriptive usage as taught in Spanish language and grammar courses regarding pronoun usage includes the rules expressed in Chapter 2 regarding explanations in traditional grammars.[11]

Although all informants were asked to express their opinion as to whether or not a particular Spanish sentence/question sounded natural or "right", none of the monolingual respondents did so. There was no reason given why they did not provide the information requested; they simply neglected to fill out that portion of the questionnaire. All of the Spanish-dominant and English-dominant bilinguals, with the exception of BS42 and BE17 provided the data requested. Inasmuch as no comparison can be drawn between the

monolinguals and the two sets of bilinguals, this portion of the data will not be discussed. However, tables containing the data, as well as the corresponding acceptability judgments are provided in Appendix II.

Of the twelve monolinguals who answered the questionnaire, there was one respondent (M13) who indicated that all thirty sentences were acceptable. Yet, when I analyzed her taped conversation, the structures she had previously found acceptable and which standard grammars classify as ungrammatical, were completely absent from her speech and the alternative constructions suggested by prescriptive usage had been employed instead.

The first section of the questionnaire distributed to the Spanish-dominant bilingual informants contains the same thirty Spanish sentences which were presented to the monolingual informants. In addition, these Spanish-dominant informants were asked to provide their opinion as to whether or not each sentence sounded "natural" or "right" and translated the sentences into English.[12] The second section consists of sixteen English sentences to which respondents gave grammatically judgments, changed those sentences found to be incorrect in order to make them acceptable, and then translated the correct version of the sentences into Spanish. These sentences can be divided into the following groupings: (1) 5 sentences with overt subject pronoun(s) (Questions 2, 3, 11, 12 and 14); (2) 2 sentences with null subject(s)

(Questions 1 and 15); (3) 1 declarative sentence with subject-verb inversion (Question 9); (4) 3 sentences with expletive pronouns (Questions 10, 13 and 16); (5) 2 sentences with arbitrary subjects (Questions 4 and 5); (6) 3 sentences containing **that-t** (Questions 6, 7 and 12); and, (7) 1 sentence showing the use of a left-dislocated pronoun (Question 8). The final section is a paragraph to be translated from English to Spanish and which contains most of the characteristics seen in the two previous sections.

Fourteen of the twenty-eight Spanish-dominant bilingual volunteers responded to the questionnaire. Although Respondent BS13 provided grammaticality judgments, she corrected very few of the sentences she found unacceptable. She did, however, give information as to whether or not she would use the sentences conversationally and did furnish the English translations to all of the items presented. Therefore, although her reasons for not accepting some of the examples cannot be determined with absolute certainty, she will be counted as part of the appropriate group when her corrections are missing.

All sections of the questionnaire distributed to the English-dominant bilingual informants are identical to the questionnaire which was administered to the Spanish-dominant bilinguals.

Fifteen of the twenty-one English-dominant bilingual volunteers responded to the questionnaire. Although

Respondent BE17 provided translations to the Spanish sentences, she provided no grammaticality judgments regarding these items whatsoever. Therefore, only fourteen responses regarding the acceptability and usage of these sentences could be analyzed. Her answers, however, will be taken into consideration in the tabulation of the translation of these same sentences. Since this respondent did answer the portion of the questionnaire dealing with English grammatical judgments and translations into Spanish, her answers will also be included in that portion of the corpus of data.

4.4.2.2 Spanish Sentences

Unnecessary (Overt) Subject Pronouns The unnecessary appearance of one or more subject pronouns in all sixteen sentences makes them stylistically difficult, inappropriate and/or highly marked in standard/prescriptive usage. These sentences can be divided into those with obligatory single reference; that is, where the noun and the pronoun must refer to the same person(s), as in Questions 1, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 30, and those where the type of reference is indicated by the presence (disjoint reference) or absence (same-reference) of the overt pronoun, as in Questions 3, 5, 9, 12, 23, 29. For presentation and analysis, I grouped the sentences first according to the type of reference and within each category, according to the subject pronoun in order to see if the identity of the particular pronoun affects its presence or absence in the dialect.

Although the tendency to accept unnecessary subject pronouns increases as one moves from the monolingual to the Spanish-dominant bilingual speakers, there is not complete agreement within either of the groups as to their (un)acceptability. None of the sentences which enjoyed 100% agreement falls within this particular characteristic which is among those that differentiate **Pro**-drop from non-**Pro**-drop languages.

Questions 13 and 30 employ the first person singular pronoun **yo** in situations where the subject can be recovered from the verb morphology, thereby making the appearance of the pronoun redundant in standard prescriptive Spanish. See the second clause of the Question 13 as an example. However, in situations where the subject is stressed (i.e., focus is present), the overt pronoun cannot be eliminated (i.e., **Fue ella quien me lo dijo.**).

(13) **Yo creo que soy muy inteligente.**

Ten of the twelve monolingual respondents (83%) accepted sentence 13 as correct. The two (17%), M18 and M22, which deemed the sentence incorrect, eliminated the overt subject pronoun. When asked if they would say the sentence in conversing, nine (75%) said they would while three (25%) said that they would not. Although M15 considered the sentence to be correct, he said he would not use it. M18 and M22 indicated that the sentence was incorrect and, as expected, replied that they did not employ it in their speech. However,

in certain discourse contexts the overt subject pronoun would be obligatory. Such would be the case if Question 13 were given in response to a statement regarding the speaker's lack of intelligence. Since the tokens included in the questionnaire appear in isolation, it is impossible to discern whether the clues provided by the context require and exclude overt subject pronouns, independent of verb morphology or other overt identifiers.

This question was judged correct as presented by thirteen (92.9%) of the Spanish-dominant bilingual participants and ungrammatical by only one (7.1%) of them. BS48 made the sentence acceptable by simply eliminating the pronoun at the beginning of the sentence. In this group, as amongst the monolinguals, nobody added a subject pronoun to the dependent clause.

BS48 was joined by BS18 and BS23 to form the small group (21.4%) that would not employ Question 13. The other eleven members of this sample indicated that they would not say it. This pattern shows that here, too, acceptability does not coincide with usage.

Ten (71.4%) of the English-dominant bilingual participants judged this grammatical while four (28.6%) of them found it ungrammatical. This is a 21.5% drop in acceptability from the Spanish-dominant bilingual group. The four individuals who found the sentence unacceptable were equally divided as to the method of correction. BE27 and BE40

eliminated the subject pronoun (**Creo que soy muy inteligente.**) while BE29 and BE33 opted to insert an additional subject in the dependent clause (**Yo creo que yo soy muy inteligente.**). This makes the latter pair the only persons in the entire population sample of the study to provide an unnecessary subject where it was not supplied.

Even though ten of these respondents indicated that the sentence was grammatical, only seven of them (50% of the respondents in this classification) indicated that they would say it. BE32, BE34 and BE37 stated that they would not use the sentence although they found it to be grammatical. This is the first of a number of examples where grammaticality did not coincide with usage in this group.

(30) **Y les digo yo a mis hijos que se porten bien.**

Eight of the monolingual respondents (67%) made no change in the sentence and considered it correct as presented. Two additional individuals (16.6%), M16 and M18, changed the inverted order of the subject and verb but retained the pronoun (**Y yo les digo a mis hijos que se porten bien.**) Only M22 and M23 (16.6%) eliminated the unnecessary subject: **Y les digo a mis hijos que se porten bien.** None of these individuals chose to insert an overt subject pronoun into the dependent clause. Such action would have made the dependent clause ungrammatical since it is a subjunctive construction which requires a null subject. Four (33.3%) of the twelve respondents stated that they would not say the above sentence.

They were the same people who considered the sentence to be ungrammatical. Those that accepted the sentence's grammaticality also stated that they would use it.

There is a marked drop in the acceptability of sentence 30 within the Spanish-dominant bilingual group. Only six respondents (42.9%) deemed it correct, while eight (57.1%) found it ungrammatical. This may be due to the subject-verb inversion which is also present in the sentence. Two respondents, BS13 and BS44, did not correct the sentence although they claimed it was unacceptable; three of them, BS20, BS31 and BS42, deleted the overt pronoun **yo**; and three of them, BS41, BS45 and BS48 (the only person not to accept the previous sentence), found the sentence unacceptable, but for reasons other than the overt pronoun. BS41 and BS48 eliminated the first word, **Y**, and BS45, not only eliminated the initial word but moved the pronoun to sentence-initial position (**Yo les digo a mis hijos que se porten bien.**) If these three are included within the group that accepts the use of subject pronouns, the percentage of acceptability increases to (64.3%), making the trend even clearer. However, again no one inserted a subject pronoun into the subject slot of the second clause.

Although the percentage of those that stated they would say this sentence remained the same as those who considered it correct, the same people do not comprise the groups. On the one hand, BS5 accepted the sentence as correct yet indicated

that he would not use it. While, on the other hand, BS13, who had written that it was ungrammatical, wrote that she would indeed employ it in her conversations. The rest of the informants remain where expected. They provide further evidence that acceptability and usage need not coincide.

Eight English-dominant respondents (57.1%) judged Question 30 grammatical and six (42.9%) did not, a reversal of what was found in the initial responses within the Spanish-dominant group. However, three of them (BE12, BE27 and BE29) retained the subject pronoun, thereby raising the acceptance of overt subject pronouns to 78.6%, just above that of the previously discussed sentence. BE12 eliminated the initial conjunction **Y** and the indirect pronoun **les** while preposing the subject pronoun **yo** in order to make the sentence acceptable (**Yo digo a mis hijos que se porten bien.**); BE27 simply deleted the beginning conjunction (**Les digo yo a mis hijos que se porten bien.**); and, BE29's corrections consisted of the removal of the opening conjunction and the positioning of the subject pronoun at the beginning of the sentence (**Yo les digo a mis hijos que se porten bien.**). With the addition of these three members, the acceptance percentage of overt subjects rises above the 64.3% attributed to the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. Taking these corrections into consideration, it seems that the presence of subject-verb inversion causes judgments of unacceptability from at least two of the respondents. As occurred with the previous two groups, no one

inserted a subject pronoun into the subject slot of the second clause.

BE6, BE27 and BE34 found the sentence to be grammatical yet indicated that they would not say it. These three increase to nine -- 64.3% -- the total number of respondents who would not say the sentence as presented.

There is only one sentence (Question 19) employing the second person singular familiar pronoun **tú**.

(19) **Paco, ¿tú fuiste a la tienda ayer por la tarde?**

Again, eight (67%) of the monolingual informants considered the example to be correct. The four (33%), M16, M18, M22 and M23, who found the sentence unacceptable, corrected it by eliminating the pronoun. Although there are situations (e.g., if the speaker was asking a number of people in turn) where the overt pronoun **tú** would be obligatory, due to the manner in which the sentences were presented, respondents were unable to rely on contextual indicators when making their decisions. The same four respondents who found Question 19 ungrammatical also indicated that they would not say the sentence as it originally appeared. Those who said that they would use it were those who accepted it as correct.

Although only four Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents (28.6%) found this sentence unacceptable, one of them, BS13 did not provide a solution, and another, BS5, found it unacceptable for reasons other than the overt pronoun.[13] Thus, the latter can be added to the group that found the

sentence acceptable, increasing its percentage from 71.4 to 78.6. The remaining two respondents (BS42 and BS45) made the sentence grammatical by simply eliminating the unneeded pronoun.

In spite of the fact that BS43, BS46 and BS47 had found Question 19 acceptable, they wrote that they would not use it in their conversations. Together with the four respondents who had already found this example unacceptable, they make up the 50% of the sample that denies its usage.

Although only four English-dominant bilingual respondents (28.6%) found Question 19 unacceptable -- the same number as in the Spanish-dominant sample -- I removed BE29 from the group, since his judgment was based on the lack of inversion in the question rather than on the appearance of the pronoun.[14] BE6 and BE40 corrected the question by eliminating the pronoun and BE39, in addition to removing the pronoun, changed the order of the prepositional phrases after substituting **en** for **por**, thereby producing **Paco, ¿ayer en la tarde fuiste a la tienda?**[15]

BE27 and BE34 joined the four individuals who found this question ungrammatical and stated that this particular construction was not part of their spoken language. Therefore, only 57.1% of these speakers would use this sentence.

The questionnaire contains three questions unnecessarily employing the masculine, third person singular pronoun **él**.

(14) **Jaime está muy cansado. El ha dormido muy poco esta semana.**

Nine (75%) monolingual persons indicated that this example was acceptable. M19 and M22 eliminated the pronoun whereas M18 not only eliminated the pronoun but also joined the two sentences by means of the conjunction "because" (**porque**). Only those individuals that corrected the sentence replied that they would not say it as presented. All those who deemed the example grammatical also said that they would employ it in their speech.

Only four Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents (BS 13, BS31, BS44 and BS48) found item 14 unacceptable. However, BS44 corrected the sentences by joining them with **porque** and keeping the subject pronoun of the second clause (**Jaime está muy cansado porque él ha dormido muy poco esta semana.**), thereby increasing the number of those accepting the overt pronoun to eleven (78.6%). BS48 simply eliminated the pronoun from the second sentence. BS31 not only eliminated the pronoun but changed the word order as well. This resulted in the sentences **Jaime está muy cansado. Esta semana ha dormido muy poco.** Once again, BS13 offered no insight into her decision.

BS45 and BS47, together with BS5, BS13, BS31 and BS48 (who found the grouping ungrammatical), said that they would not employ sentences as presented in this question.

Therefore, only 57.1% of the sample can be said to use the presented combination.

Only one English-dominant bilingual respondent (BE40) found this sentence unacceptable. Like BS44, he corrected the situation by joining the sentences with **porque**, but removed the subject pronoun of the second clause (**Jaime está muy cansado porque ha dormido muy poco esta semana.**). Once again, as proficiency in Spanish decreases, we find an increase in the number of persons willing to judge sentences containing overt subject pronouns as grammatical.

BE33, BE34, BE35 and BE39 in addition to BE40, who found the sentence unacceptable, wrote that they would not say it. This is another case where usage and acceptability do not coincide.

(18) **Juan se despidió de nosotros y él salió corriendo.**

The number of monolingual respondents accepting this situation as correct decreased to seven (58%). The five (M16, M18, M19, M22 and M23) who corrected the sentence all did so by deleting the pronoun **él**. M15 joined the five individuals who corrected Question 18 in replying that s/he would not say such a sentence in normal conversations. M15's acceptability and usage of this sentence do not coincide.

Only six (42.9%) Spanish-dominant bilingual individuals accepted example 18. Seven (BS20, BS31, BS42, BS44, BS45, BS47 and BS48) of the eight persons that found the sentence ungrammatical changed it by deleting the pronoun in the second

clause. The remaining person, Respondent BS13, made no corrections.

Less than 50% of the participants accepted this example and the percentage decreased to 26.8% regarding its usage. Although BS5 and BS41 had accepted the statement as correct, they indicated that they would not say it, thereby leaving only four in the group who would employ such a statement.

Although only six (42.9%) English-dominant bilingual individuals accepted this item as correct, I included BE38 in the group since her problem with the sentence rested with the lack of reflexivity of the second verb and not with the overt subject. The remaining seven persons (BE6, BE7, BE27, BE29, BE33, BE37 and BE39) who found the sentence ungrammatical changed it by deleting the pronoun in the second clause. In addition, Respondents BE33 and BE37 changed the second verb from **salió** to its reflexive counterpart, **se salió**.

Only one respondent (BE35) deviated from her grammaticality judgment. She had previously indicated that the sentence was acceptable yet wrote that she would not use it. Therefore, only five of these bilinguals (35.7%) both accepted and employed this sentence.

(20) **Miguel siempre llora cuando él se cae de la bicicleta.**

Only six monolinguals (50% of respondents) accepted this sentence as correct. All of them (M15, M16, M18, M19, M22 and M23) corrected it by eliminating the pronoun **él** from the

second clause. When queried as to their usage of such a sentence, these same six individuals indicated that they would not employ it in their conversation. The remainder of the participants stated that they would indeed use the item in their speech.

This question showed an increase in acceptability from the previous example within the Spanish-dominant bilingual sample. This time, eight individuals (57.1%) found the sentence acceptable. The five (of six) respondents (BS20, BS31, BS42, BS45 and BS48) who corrected the example did so by the deletion of the subject pronoun. Once again, BS13 did not offer any corrections.

Seven individuals (50%) stated that they would use the sentence as given and the six who found the sentence ungrammatical found an ally in BS46, who also indicated that he would not use it in oral communication, although he had accepted its grammaticality.

Question 20 showed an increase in acceptability from the previous example within the English-dominant bilingual population; ten individuals (71.4%) found the sentence grammatical. The four respondents (BE6, BE7, BE27 and BE40) who corrected the example did so by the deletion of the subject pronoun. This time, BE34 indicated that although he accepted the sentence as correct, he would not use it, making it a total of six participants (42.9%) who did not consider this sentence part of their idiolect.

The feminine, third person singular pronoun **ella** occurs unnecessarily in two sentences. Although the overt pronoun can only indicate the same referent as that of the antecedent, the pronoun precedes its antecedent in both cases.

(1) **Si ella no deja de comer tantos postres, Carmen se pondrá muy gorda.**

Six monolingual respondents (50%) deemed the sentence acceptable and, therefore, made no changes. The remaining six made their corrections in a variety of ways. M23 chose to reverse the clauses, creating **Carmen se pondrá muy gorda, si ella no deja de comer tantos postres.** but retained the unnecessary **ella.** M14 and M18 moved the nominal subject of the second clause to the first and eliminated the pronoun altogether (**Si Carmen no deja de comer tantos postres, se pondrá muy gorda.**). M20 exchanged the subjects of the two clauses while at the same time inverting the pronoun and verb in the second clause (**Si Carmen no deja de comer tantos postres, se pondrá ella muy gorda.**). M19 and M22 simply eliminated the pronoun **ella** while leaving the order of the clauses intact (**Si no deja de comer tantos postres, Carmen se pondrá muy gorda.**). It was these same six respondents who indicated that they would not say the sentence while those that accepted it wrote that they would.

Nine (64.3%) of the fourteen members of the Spanish-dominant bilingual group found this sentence acceptable, while the five (35.7%) who found it ungrammatical offered numerous

solutions for achieving grammaticality. BS20 eliminated the subject pronoun from the first clause, leaving the rest of the sentence intact. BS23 reversed the clauses, thus creating **Carmen se pondrá muy gorda, si ella no deja de comer tantos postres**, thereby accepting the use of the unnecessary pronoun and raising the percentage of acceptability to 71.4%. The solution offered by BS45 was an unexpected one: he eliminated **Carmen** and retained the subject pronoun of the dependent clause. BS46 and BS48 deleted the subject pronoun and replaced it with **Carmen**, which resulted in **Si Carmen no deja de comer tantos postres, se pondrá muy gorda.**

Of the fourteen members of this group, only BS5 and BS31 (14.3%) stated that they would say this sentences and seven (50%) who had accepted the sentence as correct stated that they would not employ it. These seven, added to the five who found the sentence ungrammatical, indicate that the example, as provided, is used by only a small number of the sample population.

Again, ten (71.4%) of the fourteen members of the English-dominant bilingual group found this sentence acceptable, while the four (28.6%) who stated that it was ungrammatical offered a variety of solutions. BE29 and BE36 retained the pronoun, and increased to twelve the number of people (85.7%) who found subject pronouns proper in this situation. The two sentences provided by BE29 and BE36, respectively, were **Si Carmen no deja de comer tantos postres,**

ella se pondrá muy gorda. and **Carmen se pondrá muy gorda si ella no deja de comer tantos postres.** BE6 and BE39 moved **Carmen** to the **si** clause and eliminated use of the pronoun, which resulted in **Si Carmen no deja de comer tantos postres, se pondrá muy gorda.** Once again, this indicates that the number of individuals accepting overt pronouns in subject position increases as their comfort and ability to function in Spanish decreases.

BE12, BE27, BE32 and BE37 (28.6%), four of those who judged the sentence "correct", also admitted using it in their speech. Although BE7, BE29, BE33, BE34, BE35, BE36, BE38 and BE40 (57.1%), assessed the statement as acceptable, they denied employing it. This shows that 66.7% of the respondents who accepted the grammaticality of this sentence did not use it. When I include those that found it ungrammatical (BE6 and BE39) in the second group, the percentage of those that would not say this sentence increased to 71.4.

Eight of the twelve monolingual respondents (66.67%) indicated that Question 11 was grammatically correct and left it unchanged. However, only five of them indicated that they would say it. Although M12, M15 and M17 accepted the example as grammatical, they joined M19, M20, M22 and M23 in saying that they would not say it. Once again we see a divergence between the acceptability of a sentence and its use in everyday speech.

(11) **El professor dice que cuando ella estudia, Anita no debe escuchar la radio.**

Three (M19, M22 and M23) of the remaining four individuals (25%) corrected the sentence by eliminating **ella** (**El professor dice que cuando estudia, Anita no debe escuchar la radio.**) while M18 moved **Anita** into the pronoun's place and eliminated the pronoun altogether (**El professor dice que cuando Anita estudia no debe escuchar la radio.**).

Although at first glance this sentence's acceptability within the Spanish-dominant bilingual group is lower than that of the previous one (eight respondents labeled it correct), two additional individuals (BS44 and BS45) must be added to this grouping since analysis of their corrections determined that the overt subject pronoun continued to be present. BS13, while indicating that the sentence was incorrect, made no suggestions. BS18 and BS48 rewrote the sentence in the following manner: **El profesor dice que cuando Anita estudia, no debe escuchar la radio.**, and BS41 merely removed the subject pronoun which had been provided.

The five persons who admitted using this sentence as it appeared on the questionnaire are BS20, BS23, BS31, BS42 and BS43, or 35.7% of the sample. The others denied its usage.

Ten English-dominant bilingual respondents (71.4%) labeled this item "correct". The four (28.6%) that found it unacceptable presented two ways of correcting it, both involving the deletion of the feminine pronoun. BE6, BE36 and

BE40 all wrote **El profesor dice que cuando Anita estudia, no debe escuchar la radio.** BE27 merely removed the subject pronoun which had been provided.

BE34 and BE37 joined the four individuals who found Question 11 ungrammatical and stated that they would not say such a sentence. The remaining eight individuals wrote that it was part of their speech.

Among the single reference sentences, Questions 7 and 8 employ the pronoun **ellos** (masculine third person plural). In each, various occurrences of the pronoun can be found, thereby allowing a variety of possibilities.

(7) **¿Has visto a Sarita y Rodrigo? Ellos son los primos de Carolina y ellos también son amigos míos.**

Nine of the twelve monolingual respondents (75%) found the sentence grammatically correct as presented. Of the remaining three, M18 retained the first occurrence of the pronoun but eliminated the second (**¿Has visto a Sarita y Rodrigo? Ellos son los primos de Carolina y también son amigos míos.**), while M19 and M22 eliminated both occurrences (**¿Has visto a Sarita y Rodrigo? Ellos son los primos de Carolina y también son amigos míos.**). The three persons that did not accept the sentence were also the only individuals who said they would not use it in their conversations.

Only five Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents (35.7%) found this set of sentences unacceptable. BS20, BS45 and BS48 retained the first instance of **ellos** but eliminated the

second, while BS42, eliminated both of them. As usual, BS13 provided no correction to the example. This seems to indicate an ambivalence towards or insecurity in the usage of subject pronouns by the first three individuals mentioned.

Five informants, BS18, BS20, BS31, BS43 and BS44 (35.7%), stated that they would make use of the sentences found in Question 7. The remaining 64.3%, which includes persons who had found the set grammatically correct, indicated that they would not make these statements.

All six of the English-dominant bilingual respondents, BE6, BE27, BE29, BE35, BE36 and BE40 (42.9%), who found this set of sentences unacceptable corrected it in the same way; they retained the first instance of **ellos** but eliminated the second. BE35 and BE40 also changed **amigos míos** to **mis amigos**, which I interpreted as uneasiness in the use of the stressed possessive form of adjectives.

There are those who say things that they know to be ungrammatical. Respondent BE29 is an example of such an individual and the only person in the sample to admit doing so. Although he judged item 7 as incorrect, he wrote that he would say it. An additional three participants, BE12, BE32 and BE37, who had judged it correct, agreed with BE29's usage. Five of the persons who had said that the sentence was correct indicated that they would not use it and were joined by the remaining five members of the group who had judged it unacceptable.

(8) **Marisol y Andrés comieron en el restaurante porque tenían ellos hambre. Ahora ellos están cansados.**

Seven of the monolingual participants (58%) made no changes to the sentences as presented. M16 and M18 (17% of the participants) eliminated the first instance of **ellos** but kept the second sentence intact while M19, M22 and M23 (25% of the participants) eliminated both cases, yielding the prescriptively preferred **Marisol y Andrés comieron en el restaurante porque tenían hambre. Ahora están cansados.** Although M14 and M15 found Question 8 grammatical, these two individuals together with those that found the sentence unacceptable form the group that denied employing such a sentence in oral communication. Here again, the number of individuals that employ a sentence decreases from that which accept it as grammatical.

Eleven (78.6%) of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals found this set of sentences unacceptable, quite an increase from the previous question. There were two solutions offered by the ten individuals in the group. Although BS13 considered the example unacceptable, she provided no corrections. The most popular solution, given by eight group members (BS18, BS20, BS41, BS42, BS44, BS45, BS47 and BS48) was the removal of both subject pronouns. The two remaining respondents (BS31 and BS43) eliminated **ellos** from the first sentence but retained it in the second.[16]

BS23 is the only person who admitted to using the above sentences. Although BS5 and BS46 had accepted the sentences, they indicated that they would not use them. Therefore, only 7.1% of this population sample both accepted and admitted employing these sentences.

Eight of the English-dominant bilinguals (57.1%) found these sentences unacceptable, only an increase of 14.2% from the previous question. However, BE29's correction indicates that it was not the presence of the two instances of **ellos** which constituted the problem for him, but rather the subject-verb inversion in the dependent clause. Since he retained both pronouns, we can include him as part of the group that accepted their use as grammatical and decrease the percentage of unacceptability to 50%. Three group members (BE7, BE27 and BE40) provided the most popular solution. It consisted of the removal of both subject pronouns. Both BE6 and BE39 retained only the first instance of the pronoun, but BE6 moved it into preverbal position. The two remaining respondents (BE12 and BE38) eliminated **ellos** from the first sentence but retained it in the second.

Four informants (BE29, BE34, BE36 and BE37) would not use these sentences even though they labelled them as grammatical. Together with the seven individuals who judged them ungrammatical, they comprise the 78.6% of the group that would not say this. Only three persons (BE32, BE33 and BE35)

admitted to actually using the examples which they judged as correct.

There were six sentences presented whose reference changes with the appearance/absence of the overt subject pronoun (Questions 3, 5, 9, 12, 23 and 29).[17] Questions 5, 9 and 23 contain the masculine, third person singular **él**, Questions 3 and 29 employ the feminine, third person plural **ellas**, and the remaining question (12) uses its masculine counterpart **ellos**.

Ten monolingual individuals (83.3%) accepted the first of the three sentences employing **él** as correct.

(5) **Juan es mejor de lo que él piensa.**

The remaining two respondents (16.7%), M19 and M23, corrected the sentence by eliminating the overt pronoun: **Juan es mejor de lo que piensa**. These same two individuals commented that they would not say the sentence, while those that accepted it as correct indicated that they would.

Question 5 received almost complete approval from the Spanish-dominant bilinguals; thirteen of the fourteen (92.9%) group members deemed it correct. The lone dissenter, BS47, found the overt pronoun **él** to be problematical and eliminated it.

While almost all these informants indicated that they found this sentence grammatical, only eight (57.1%) said that they would employ it in their speech. BS47 was joined by BS5,

BS20, BS41, BS45 and BS46 (42.9%), in stating that this sentence does not form part of their repertoire.

This sentence received a lower approval from the English-dominant than from the Spanish-dominant group (eleven of fourteen or 78.8%). The three that found it ungrammatical, although offering different solutions, all removed the subject pronoun from the sentence. BE7 wrote **Juan es mejor de lo que piensa.**; BE27 provided **Juan es mejor que lo que piensa.** (which is grammatically incorrect but for an entirely different reason); and, BE40 solved his problem by recasting the sentence as **Juan cree que es el mejor de todos.**

Eight of the participants who found this sentence acceptable stated that they would use it. However, BE29, BE34 and BE37, who also judged it grammatical, would not say it nor would the three who had labeled the example unacceptable.

Eight monolingual participants (66.67%) considered the following example correct.

(9) **Bueno, chicos, ¿quién va a decir que él manejó el carro de Paco?**

The four participants (33.33%) who found it unacceptable, corrected it in three different ways. M15 resolved the situation by removing a portion of the sentence, **Bueno, chicos, ¿quién manejó el carro de Paco?**, while M18 corrected it by writing **Bueno, chicos, ¿qué persona va a decir quién manejó el carro de Paco?**; and, M22 and M23 simply eliminated the unnecessary **él** from the given sentence: **Bueno, chicos,**

¿quién va a decir que manejó el carro de Paco?. M20 accepted the example as grammatical yet sided with M15, M18, M22 and M23 in stating that he would not say such a thing. The rest of those who judged the sentence grammatical stated that they would say it.

Eleven (78.6%) Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents found this sentence acceptable, a 14.3% decrease in acceptability. Only one (BS48) of the three individuals who found the sentence unacceptable provided a sentence that retained the meaning: **Bueno, chicos, ¿quién va a decir que manejó el carro de Paco?.** The two other solutions consisted of **Bueno, chicos, ¿quién me va a decir quién manejó el carro de Paco?**, and **Bueno, chicos, ¿quién va a decir que manejaron el carro de Paco?**, provided by BS31 and BS42, respectively.

Even though eleven of the respondents in this group accepted this sentence, only seven of them admitted using it. Fifty percent of the sample, comprised of the three who found it ungrammatical and BS5, BS41, BS45 and BS47 (who had previously stated that it was acceptable), indicated that they would not employ such a question.

Although only eight (57.1%) English-dominant bilingual respondents indicated that Question 9 was correct, upon analysis of the changes that they provided, BE33 and BE39 must be included in this grouping since the sentences resulting from their changes included an unnecessary subject pronoun. This raised the proportion of the sample population that found

the question acceptable to 71.4.[18] Although this shows a drop of only 7.1 from the acceptability percentage of the members of the Spanish-dominant bilingual group, it is a reversal of the trend which the other examples seem to demonstrate. Both BE7 and BE27 corrected the question by eliminating the subject pronoun and produced **Bueno, chicos, ¿quién va a decir que manejó el carro de Paco?** The remaining individual, BE40, changed the meaning of the question by writing **Bueno chicos, quién va a decir quién manejó el carro de Paco?** BE35 indicated her apparent confusion by placing a "?" next to the example. She provided no further information.

Ten of the English-dominant participants indicated that they would not say this question while four of them would. These figures demonstrate that six of them would not employ a question even though they considered it grammatical.

Nine of the monolingual informants (75%) accepted Question 23 as correct.

(23) **¿Quién dice que él estudia historia contigo?**

M16, M19 and M23 (the remaining 25%) eliminated the overt pronoun in the dependent clause, leaving **¿Quién dice que estudia historia contigo?** These three individuals, together with M18 and M20 (who accepted the grammaticality of the sentence), said that they would not employ it in conversation.

Like Question 5, number 23 was considered acceptable by thirteen of the fourteen Spanish-dominant bilinguals. BS13

provided the only correction to this sentence by eliminating the subject pronoun **él**.

Three of the individuals (BS5, BS20 and BS31) who accepted this sentence's grammaticality denied using it. The fourth member of this group (BS13) had previously indicated that the sentence was not acceptable as presented. Therefore, 71.4% of the sample admits to employing questions such as that found in item 23.

Question 23 was the only one of three examples employing **él** that was deemed acceptable by almost all of the English-dominant bilingual participants (thirteen of the fourteen, or 92.9%). BE27 provided the only correction by eliminating the subject pronoun **él**. This parallels the responses of the Spanish-dominant bilingual sample.

Four informants that judged this sentence to be acceptable also denied using it, as did respondent BE27, the only individual to judge it ungrammatical. The remaining nine persons stated that they would say it.

(3) **Algunas personas creen que ellas son muy inteligentes y ellas quieren asistir a la universidad.**

Seven monolingual respondents (58.3%) indicated that Question 3 needed no changes in order to be grammatical. M18, M19, M22 and M23, comprising 33.3% of the respondents, eliminated both occurrences of **ellas**, thereby creating **Algunas personas creen que son muy inteligentes y quieren asistir a la**

universidad. The last respondent, M16, (8.3%) eliminated the second occurrence of **ellas** after changing **creen** to its reflexive counterpart **se creen**, thus eliminating the need for the dependent clause: **Algunas personas se creen muy inteligentes y quieren asistir a la universidad.** These same five individuals responded to the question **"Diría Ud. esto?"** with an emphatic **"¡No!"**

Although only six of the Spanish-dominant bilingual informants accepted this sentence as presented, two additional individuals (BS42 and BS44) must be added to the group inasmuch as their reasons for not accepting it were founded on differences of vocabulary. Thus, 57.1% of the informants accepted the use of both occurrences of **ellas**. The only method of correction for this sentence, which was employed by all six of these bilinguals (BS18, BS20, BS31, BS45, BS47 and BS48), was the deletion of both instances of the aforementioned pronoun.

Only BS5, BS23 and BS43 (21.4%) admitted to employing sentence 3 in their speech; five individuals (BS13, BS41, BS42, BS44 and BS46) wrote that they would not say such a thing; and, the remaining six, who had found the sentence ungrammatical, agreed with the previous five. Thus, the majority of this group indicated that this sentence was not part of his/her daily speech.

Eight English-dominant bilingual informants (57.1%) accepted this sentence as presented, which is the same number

of informants that accepted the use of both occurrences of **ellas** in the previous bilingual group analyzed. BE32 provided only a "?" to indicate his appraisal of the sentence so that the source of his problem could not be identified. Although BE36 marked the sentence as ungrammatical, she did not correct it, thus making it impossible to identify the cause of unacceptability.[19] Three of the four individuals (BE6, BE27 and BE40) who found the sentence wrong and corrected it, did so by the elimination of both subject pronouns (**Algunas personas creen que son muy inteligentes y quieren asistir a la universidad.**). BE7 substituted **las mujeres** for the first instance of **ellas** and eliminated its second occurrence (**Algunas personas creen que las mujeres son muy inteligentes y quieren asistir a la universidad.**). These last modifications changed the meaning of the statement, and when translated into English, cause ambiguity.

The ten respondents who stated that the example was correct were evenly divided as to its usage; five would not say it while five would. The four who had judged it ungrammatical joined those who admitted not using it.

(29) **Ellas piensan que ellas siempre pueden decir lo que ellas quieren.**

Although item 29 contains three occurrences of the same unnecessary pronoun, five monolingual informants (41.67%) believed it to be correct. The seven additional respondents (58.33%) corrected the sentence in three different ways. M12

retained the first and third occurrences of the pronoun, eliminating only the second (**Ellas piensan que siempre pueden decir lo que ellas quieren.**). M16, M18, M19 and M20 retained the first pronoun and eliminated its following occurrences (**Ellas piensan que siempre pueden decir lo que quieren.**). M22 and M23 wrote the sentence without any overt pronouns (**Piensan que siempre pueden decir lo que quieren.**). The seven participants who judged the example to be incorrect also indicated that they would not say it while those that accepted its grammaticality said they would.

Although ten (71.4%) Spanish-dominant bilingual informants considered this sentence to be grammatically incorrect, none of them eliminated all three occurrences of the pronoun **ellas**. The most frequent response (provided by BS20, BS41, BS42, BS45, BS47, BS48) consisted of the retention of the first instance of the pronoun and the deletion of the other two (**Ellas piensan que siempre pueden decir lo que quieren.**). The other three members of the group (BS18, BS31 and BS44) who provided corrections eliminated only the second occurrence (**Ellas piensan que siempre pueden decir lo que ellas quieren.**) Once again, BS13 provided no indication as to why she considered the example unacceptable.

BS5 and BS46, together with the ten individuals who found this sentence incorrect, make up the 85.7% of the sample that would not employ such a construction. Even though there was no agreement as to which or how many of the pronouns should be

eliminated, there was close to unanimous agreement that some of them must go.

Only five English-dominant bilingual informants considered this sentence to be grammatically incorrect. However, none of them eliminated all three occurrences of the pronoun **ellas.** The most frequent response (provided by BE6, BE7, BE27 and BE40) consisted of the retention of the first instance of the pronoun and the deletion of the other two (**Ellas piensan que siempre pueden decir lo que quieren.**). The remaining respondent (BE29) eliminated only the second occurrence (**Ellas piensan que siempre pueden decir lo que ellas quieren.**).

Once again, BE29 admitted that he would say something that he judged ungrammatical. Seven additional respondents, who had said it was acceptable, agreed with his usage. BE34 and BE38, two individuals who had found the example correct, and the four who had not found it so, formed the group that would not use it.

The final sentence containing unnecessary pronouns was accepted by seven of the twelve monolingual respondents (58.3%).

(12) **Ellos dicen que ellos lo van a leer cuando ellos tengan tiempo.**

Three (M16, M18 and M23) of the five remaining participants (25%) eliminated the second and third occurrences of **ellos** (**Ellos dicen que lo van a leer cuando tengan tiempo.**) while

16.7% of the informants (M19 and M22) discarded all three pronouns (**Dicen que lo van a leer cuando tengan tiempo.**). Again, as in the previous situation, only those individuals who deemed the sentence incorrect also stated that they would not say it. All those who judged it acceptable said they would use it.

Question 12 elicited an unacceptable response from ten (71.4%) of the informants in the Spanish-dominant bilingual category. BS13 did not give any indication for her selection, but the remaining nine individuals (BS18, BS20, BS31, BS41, BS42, BS44, BS45, BS47 and BS48) chose to retain the sentence-initial **ellos** and delete the remaining two.

The ten respondents who found this sentence grammatically unacceptable were joined by two others in stating that they would not use this sentence. BS23 and BS43 were the only individuals who said they would employ it, making this one of the least said sentences in the sample.

Question 12 received an unacceptable response from only five of the English-dominant bilingual informants. BE35, once again, indicated an inability to determine the grammaticality of the sentence and cannot be placed in either category. BE29 eliminated only the second occurrence of **ellos**; BE6 and BE27 chose to retain the sentence-initial instance and delete the remaining two; and, BE7 and BE40 eliminated all three instances thereof.

A total of nine individuals (six who had found the sentence incorrect and three who had found it acceptable) indicated that they would not say this sentence. The remaining five participants stated that they would use this in their daily conversation.

Discussion It appears that the most consistent results obtain when the overt pronoun is coreferential with another element in the same sentence, as opposed to sentences where the individual pronouns are employed in isolation, and could be required when discourse focus is present. In a sentence such as **Pablo siempre tartamudea cuando (él) está nervioso.**, no contrastive focus is possible so that clearer judgments can be made. Differences caused by discourse context make accurate judgments difficult when an isolated sentence contains a single pronoun.

Many people accept sentences that they would not use and use sentences that they know to be grammatically incorrect. However, as indicated above, generally only those individuals who judged items to be incorrect indicated that they would not say them. The vast majority of those that accepted the grammaticality of the items, also indicated that they would employ them in their speech. However, this is not borne out in their taped interviews, as the analysis presented in Section 4.4.3 demonstrates. None of the individuals who found sentences ungrammatical admitted using them, yet their taped

interviews are replete with examples of unnecessary subject pronouns.

Summary The tendency to accept unnecessary subject pronouns increases as one moves from the Spanish-dominant to the English-dominant bilingual speakers, although, within this latter group, complete agreement regarding their (un)acceptability is not achieved for any of the sample sentences. The ANOVA tests which were conducted on the responses of acceptability/grammaticality to the sixteen probes which comprise this category by the three groups of respondents indicate no statistical significance, regardless of whether or not adjustments were made for the reasons responsible for the lack of acceptability by individual respondents.[20] The same tests were conducted on the six quantified sentences, with the same results. However, when the responses to usage were tested, statistical significance was demonstrated between the monolinguals' responses and those of each of the bilingual groups ($p=.004$ and $p=.003$ for Monolinguals/Spanish-dominant bilinguals and monolinguals/English-dominant bilinguals, respectively). However, the calculations demonstrate no significance between the responses provided by the two bilingual groups. All of the sentences which enjoyed 100% agreement are examples of characteristics which differentiate Spanish from English other than missing subjects in the former and obligatory overt subjects in the latter.

Missing (Overt) Subjects All four of the following sentences are considered to be grammatically correct in standard/prescriptive Spanish usage.

(2) **Vimos una película muy buena.**

(6) **Creo que están llamando a la puerta.**

(16) **¿Quién has dicho que va a llegar tarde?**

(22) **Dicen que va a llover.**

There is 100% agreement as to the grammaticality of Questions 2, 6 and 22 among the twelve monolingual participants. They all indicated that the items were correct, yet when it comes to saying the sentences, three individuals denied saying sentences such as those in Questions 2 and 6. M20 is the only individual who states that although the sentence is correct, he would not say it. M16 and M19 judge the sentence to be correct yet indicate that they would not say it. Both women say that the problem is one of vocabulary; that they would use **tocando** rather than **llamando** to indicate that someone "is knocking at the door". There is also complete agreement both as to grammaticality and usage of sentence 22. Ten of the twelve monolinguals who answered the questionnaire (83.3%) judged the item to be grammatical. The remaining two (16.7%), M17 and M20, who found the sentence ungrammatical, changed its meaning when attempting to correct it. M17 wrote **¿Quién ha dicho que va a llegar tarde?** while M20 offers **¿Quién te dijo que ha llegado tarde?** In both cases, the subject of the question was changed from second

person to third person singular, indicating a problem in comprehending the purpose of this question rather than simply with its grammatical structure. However, there are five respondents (M15, M17, M20, M22 and M23) who stated that they would not say this sentence. M15 simply stated that he would not say it; M17 and M20 would have to make the changes already discussed; M22 would have to change the verb tense from present perfect to preterite in order to say it; and M23 would have to eliminate **has dicho que** from the sentence in order to use it.

The same three sentences (Questions 2, 6 and 22) which had received complete (100%) agreement from the monolinguals as to their acceptability achieved the same result among the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. This demonstrates that although many of these respondents accept sentences with redundant or unnecessary subject pronouns as grammatically correct, all of them accept sentences with non-overt subjects as grammatical. Thus, it seems that although there is a trend emerging towards the acceptance of sentences with unnecessary subjects that would be considered ungrammatical according to prescriptive standards in the Mexican Spanish of Houston, there is no change in the status of sentences with null subjects.

Twelve of these bilingual individuals (85.7%) indicated that they would employ Question 2 while BS5 and BS45 (14.3%) stated that they would not, even though they had accepted the sentence as correct. However, the usage of Question 6, which

had also received 100% acceptability, dropped to only six individuals (BS13, BS18, BS20, BS23, BS45 and BS46). 57.1% of those who had previously accepted it as correct denied using it. However, Question 22 maintained its 100% uniformity; all fourteen Spanish-dominant bilinguals stated that they would use this sentence in their spoken language.

Question 16 was the only example of a sentence containing a null subject which resulted in any kind of problem. Two respondents, BS5 and BS31, did not accept this sentence. As with two of the monolinguals, those that corrected it, although creating grammatical sentences, changed the meaning of the question. BS5 provided **¿Quién ha dicho que vas a llegar tarde?**, thereby reversing the subject and object of the sentence and BS31 wrote **¿Quién ha dicho que va a llegar tarde?**, also changing the subject of the sentence.

Nine members of this group wrote that they would employ this question in conversations. The two individuals who judged it ungrammatical were in agreement with three others (BS41, BS44 and BS47), and stated that they would not employ such a question.

There is complete (100%) agreement as to the acceptability of all four of these items within the English-dominant bilingual group. It is the only group in which all participants judged Question 16 grammatical. No alterations were suggested for Questions 2 and 22, and although there were

a few changes suggested for both Questions 6 and 16, none of them involved the insertion of an overt subject.

The changes suggested to Question 6 were based on vocabulary preferences, and not on the null subject. Two respondents (BE38 and BE39) indicated that the sentence was grammatical but that **llamando** did not seem natural. Instead, they suggested the verb **tocando**, which had already been encountered among the monolingual Spanish speakers. A third respondent, BE6, changed **a** to **en**, indicating that the verb followed by **a** did not sound "right".

Although Respondents BE12 and BE32 accepted Question 16 as grammatical, they made changes to the tense and person of the verb. As with two of the monolinguals and two of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, these two individuals, although creating grammatical sentences, changed the meaning of the question when they did so. BE12 provided **¿Quién <u>ha</u> dicho que va a llegar tarde?**, thereby changing the subject from second to third person singular and BE32 wrote **¿Quién dice que van a llegar tarde?**, changing the subjects of both clauses.

Once again, the data indicate that while <u>many</u> of the respondents in this group accepted sentences with redundant or unnecessary subject pronouns as grammatically correct, <u>all</u> of them accepted sentences with null subjects as grammatical. However, this unanimity is not translated into their usage patterns. Although Question 2 was accepted by 100% of the respondents, only eight of them (57.1%) claimed to use such

sentences. The percentage for Question 6 dropped further, to 35.7%. However, claimed usage increased to 71.4% for Question 16 (BE12 and BE32 stated that they would only use it after the indicated changes were made.), and even more for the final item in this grouping, Question 22, whose use percentage was 92.9% (Only BE34 stated that he would not say it.). The responses to this set of items also indicate that acceptability/grammaticality judgments do not necessarily indicate usage of the particular linguistic characteristic under study.

Subject-Verb Inversion (In Declarative Sentences) According to standard/prescriptive Spanish usage, all five of the sentences (Questions 4, 10, 17, 21 and 25) are grammatically correct.

Question 17 elicited 100% agreement regarding its grammaticality from the individuals making up the monolingual sample.

(17) **Vinieron muchos estudiantes al principio de la presentación.**

Respondent M23 was the only one to state that she would not say the sentence. She insisted on placing the prepositional phrase **al principio de la presentación** at the beginning of the sentence.

Although only thirteen of the fourteen Spanish-dominant participants (92.9%) indicated that the above sentence was acceptable, BS23's unacceptability was not based on the

inversion of subject and verb but on the location of the two prepositional phrases and a difference in vocabulary. The rewritten sentence this respondent provided was **Al comienzo de la presentación vinieron muchos estudiantes**. Therefore, this group, like the monolingual respondents, also presented 100% agreement regarding the acceptability of inverted subjects.

Even though all fourteen individuals accepted the statement as grammatical, BS41 and BS47 pointed out that they would not use it in their conversations. Once again, for a few respondents, the fact that a sentence is grammatical does not signify that it will be employed in their speech.

Eleven of the fourteen English-dominant participants (78.6%) stated that the above sentence was acceptable. This indicated a 21.4% drop in acceptability from the 100% found in the two previous groups of speakers analyzed. The three individuals (BE29, BE35 and BE40) who found the sentence unacceptable all corrected it by moving **muchos estudiantes** to the beginning of the statement.

There was a 28.6% drop from the percentage of those respondents who accepted item 17 as grammatical and those who would say it in their oral communication. Four of the participants forming part of the above group joined those who had found it incorrect to make up fifty percent of the sample population.

Questions 4 and 10 were judged grammatical by eleven (91.67%) of the monolingual participants. Respondent M18, the

lone dissenter in both cases, corrected the sentence by placing the subject before the verb.[21] Although both sentences received the same grammaticality judgments, their usage differs. Only five respondents (M12, M13, M15, M19 and M21) indicated that they would employ sentence 4 while the number of participants increases to nine for sentence 10, with only M15, M17 and M18 denying its use.

(4) **Ya han salido los invitados.**

(10) **Ya han llegado mis amigos.**

Of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, BS45, found this sentence unacceptable due to its subject-verb inversion and corrected it by moving **los invitados** to sentence-initial position. Although Question 4 was rated as unacceptable by five other respondents (BS20, BS31, BS42, BS43 and BS44), their problem rested with the verb tense being employed, not with the inversion of subject and verb. All of them changed the tense from the present perfect to the preterite, resulting in **Ya salieron los invitados**. The remaining persons found no problem in accepting the example as grammatical.

Grammatical acceptance of a sentence does not guarantee its usage, as these respondents have repeatedly shown. This example is not an exception. Only four individuals (BS5, BS18, BS41 and BS46) indicated that they would make such a statement while the other ten stated that they would not.

Eight of the nine Spanish-dominant bilingual individuals who judged item 10 ungrammatical did so due to the verb tense.

Once again, all those that corrected the sentence did so by replacing the present perfect tense with the preterite, thereby producing **Ya llegaron mis amigos.**

BS45 accepted the subject-verb inversion in Question 10 but not in Question 4, and accepted the present perfect tense in the latter but not in the former. Although both Question 4 and Question 10 elicited a judgment of unacceptability from BS13, she did not correct either sentence, thereby making it impossible to determine the source of her judgments. If we assume that her reasons parallel those of the other group members, Question 10 can then be included in the group of sentences which received 100% agreement.[22]

Only four individuals (BS18, BS23, BS44 and BS47) admitted employing Question 10. Because its ungrammaticality for some informants stemmed from a source other than that being tested, its lack of use can be attributed to the verb tense. Once the respondents changed the tense to the preterite, usage rose to 100%.

85.7% (twelve of fourteen respondents) of the English-dominant bilinguals found Question 4 grammatical. This was the same percentage as that of the Spanish-dominant group and only 6% less than the monolingual speakers. Only BE7 and BE40 found this sentence unacceptable due to its subject-verb inversion and corrected it by moving **los invitados** to sentence-initial position. Unlike many of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals who had problems with the present perfect

tense, none of these individuals found the verb tense used to be problematical. This trend was evident in the other examples in which the present perfect tense was employed.[23]

BE7 and BE40, together with another six individuals who had previously judged the sentence grammatical, wrote that they would not say it. The remaining six agreed that they not only found it correct but would employ it as well.

Sentence 10 received the exact same responses from the English-dominant bilingual sample that were given for Question 4. The 85.7% acceptability given this question is a small decrease from that given by the Spanish-dominant bilinguals (92.9%) and monolinguals (91.7%). Again, BE7 and BE40 found the sentence unacceptable, and for the same reason: the inversion of the subject and verb. Both corrected it by moving **mis amigos** to sentence-initial position.

Although the structure of this sentence parallels that of the previous one, fewer respondents said that they would use it. Here only four (BE7 and BE40, the only ones who had found it incorrect, and BE29 and BE34) wrote that they would say such a thing.

The number of monolingual respondents judging Question 21 to be correct decreased to ten (83.3%).

(21) **Telefoneó mi novio para preguntármelo.**

Respondent M18 again did not accept subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences and was joined by M23. Both preposed the subject, which resulted in **Mi novio telefoneó para**

preguntármelo. However, these two women were joined by Respondents M17 and M20 in stating that they would not say the sentence as presented. However, for the new additions, the problem did not rest with subject-verb inversion. M17 changed the sentence to read **Telefoneó mi novio pa' preguntarme** and M20, although he stated that it didn't sound like something he would say, offered no alternative.

Eleven (78.6%) of the Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents indicated that this sentence was acceptable. The problems the three remaining members of the group (BS41, BS42 and BS43) found with the sentence were unrelated to the subject-verb inversion. The only change made by BS42 was the substitution of the third person singular indirect object pronoun **le** for the direct/indirect combination **melo**, thereby eliminating the direct object from the sentence and changing the indirect object from first to third person singular, thus altering its meaning. Inasmuch as the trait being studied was not the reason for the unacceptability judgment, this respondent can be added to the others, raising the question's acceptability to 85.7%. BS41 and BS43 converted the subject of the sentence, **mi novio**, into the indirect object (**a mi novio**) and added the indefinite **algo** ("something") as the direct object. Inasmuch as there is no overt subject offered in the rewritten sentence, we can assume that these two individuals have a problem with inversion as well, making this

sentence unacceptable to 16.7% of the Spanish-dominant bilingual sample.

Only four respondents (BS13, BS18, BS20 and BS23) indicated that they would make such a statement. The remaining ten individuals, four of whom had found the sentence unacceptable, denied using it.

Only eight of the English-dominant bilingual informants (57.1%) in the group judged this item to be grammatical. However, although BE7 had judged it incorrect, her reason for doing so was based on a difference in vocabulary, not on the position of the verb prior to the subject.[24] Therefore, BE7 can be added to the group, thereby increasing its share to 64.3%. Even with the increase, the acceptance percentage of this group is 19.0% and 14.5% below that of the monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals, respectively. Since BE32 only marked a "?" next to this example, he cannot be counted in either classification. The only one of the four respondents (BE6, BE29, BE34 and BE40) whose change did not alter the meaning nor create an ungrammatical sentence was BE29. He moved the subject (**mi novio**) to the front of the sentence and changed **telefoneó** to **llamó**, a verb with which he was more comfortable. The other three individuals changed the meaning of the statement when they corrected it. None of them retained the verb **telefonear**, although in one case (BE6) the tense was also changed from preterite to future, and all three converted the subject of the sentence to first person

singular. Furthermore, only one (BE34) employed a subject pronoun, and it was in preverbal position.[25]

Again the number of participants who would employ this dropped from those who accepted its grammaticality. Question 21 received the lowest percentage of usage of the five probes regarding subject-verb inversion. Only five individuals (35.7%) admitted that they would make this comment.

Question 25 also has two monolingual respondents who judged it to be ungrammatical.

(25) **Ya llamó mi madre a la profesora.**

This time M18 was joined by M22, who also placed the subject before the verb, thereby creating **Mi madre ya llamó a la profesora.** This time, all those who accepted the sentence as correct also said they would use it, while the remaining two would have to change the word order in order to include it in their conversation.

Although five (35.7%) of the Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents indicated that they did not accept this sentence, two of them (BS23 and BS44) based their judgments on factors other than subject-verb inversion. BS23 needed only to eliminate **ya** in order to make the sentence grammatical, while BS44 added the third person singular indirect object pronoun **le** in order to accomplish grammaticality (**Ya le llamó mi madre a la profesora.**). The three respondents (BS20, BS43 and BS45) who based their judgments on subject-verb inversion comprised only 21.4% of the Spanish-dominant bilingual sample. Although

BS20 had accepted inverted subjects in the previous declarative sentences, she converted this statement into a question (**¿Ya llamó mi madre a la profesora?**). BS43 moved the subject to sentence-initial position and, like BS44, added the indirect object pronoun **le**, making the direct object appear as the indirect object of the verb and may be considered an instance of hypercorrection due to the appearance of the "personal **a**" which is sometimes taken to be a preposition indicating the indirect complement in Spanish (**Mi madre ya le llamó a la profesora.**). BS45 deleted the adverb **ya** while preposing the subject (**Mi madre llamó a la profesora.**).

Five members of this category (BS13, BS18, BS20, BS31 and BS43) admitted having this sentence as part of their idiolect. The nine other members denied using it.

Although four (28.6%) of the English-dominant bilingual respondents indicated that this sentence was unacceptable, one of them (BE34) based his judgment on factors other than subject-verb inversion. This young man substituted the subject for the direct object when correcting the sentence, but left the subject in postverbal position, **Ya llamó a mi madre la profesora.** Therefore, the percentage of "incorrect" judgments decreased to 21.4%. This indicated that the percentage of respondents in all three groups remained relatively constant. There was a slight (3.7%) decrease in acceptability between the monolinguals and both groups of bilinguals, whose percentages were identical. The three

respondents (BE12, BE35 and BE40) who corrected the statement moved the subject to sentence-initial position, leaving the rest of the sentence as presented. BE40 did not accept any of the sentences with subject-verb inversion, which may mean that this particular trait has either disappeared from, or has never been a part of, the idiolect of this informant.

BE6, BE34 and BE37 stated that although they had judged the sentence to be grammatical, they would not use it. Together with the three individuals who had disagreed with its grammatical status, they comprise the 42.9% that would not employ Question 25.

Summary Of the characteristics considered to form the **Pro**-drop parameter, subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences provided the most significant results when statistical analyses were conducted. The analysis of variance tests (ANOVAs) on the group of five questions dedicated to this trait yielded significant correlations, both with and without adjustments for the nature of the unacceptability judgments. With no adjustments, comparison of monolingual respondents with Spanish-dominant bilingual participants provided a p-value of .044, while the p-value for the differences between monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals equalled .049. However, the ANOVA for the responses between the two groups of bilinguals provided figures of no significance. Yet, when adjustments were made for the reasons on which the acceptability judgments were

based, the trend changed. There was no correlation between the responses provided by the monolinguals and those of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, but p=.051 between monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals and p=.032 between the Spanish-dominant and English-dominant bilinguals. The results from the analyses of variance conducted on the usage responses pattern with the unadjusted responses; that is, there was some significance between monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals (p=.063) and between monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals (p=.019) while none existed between the two bilingual groups.

Subject-Verb Inversion and Unnecessary (Overt) Subject Pronoun The clause containing the inversion of the subject and verb in Questions 26 and 28 is considered grammatical while the overt subject pronoun in the second clause is deemed to be ungrammatical in standard or prescriptive usage.

(26) **Jugaron las chicas por dos horas y nosotros tuvimos la oportunidad de descansar.**

Among the monolingual respondents, only Respondent M18 judged the first clause to be ungrammatical, again due to the fact that it includes subject-verb inversion which seems to be absent from her idiolect. Respondents M22 and M23 were the only ones to judge the second clause ungrammatical and eliminated the overt pronoun **nosotros** in order to make it acceptable. These three respondents indicated that they would need to make the stated changes in order to say the sentence.

They were joined by M20, who indicated that he would have to change **chicas** to **muchachas** in order to make use of the sentence. The other nine participants stated that the sentence, as presented, would be used by them.

100% of the Spanish-dominant bilingual individuals considered Question 26 grammatical. None of them found the first person plural **nosotros** to be redundant in the sentence although, by prescriptive standards, the subject can be recovered from the verb-final morphology.

Although everyone in this group agreed on the grammatical status of the sentence, three individuals (BS43, BS45 and BS46) indicated that they would not say it. However, they did not indicate whether this was due to the inversion of the subject and verb, the overt subject pronoun in the second clause or to other, unrelated, reasons.

The percentage of "correct" responses for the first clause of Sentence 26 fell to 85.7% amongst the English-dominant bilinguals. This was a decrease in acceptance from the 100% for the Spanish-dominant bilinguals and from the 92.7% calculated for the monolinguals. The problem with this sentence, according to BE6 and BE40, stemmed from the subject-verb inversion in the first clause. Both of these individuals had previously judged several items ungrammatical for this very reason. Once they placed the subject at the front of the sentence, the ungrammaticality was removed. Nobody found the first person plural **nosotros** to be redundant in the sentence

so that the second clause of this compound sentence achieved 100% acceptance regarding its grammaticality. This was identical to that of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals and an increase in the acceptance by both groups from the 83.3% demonstrated by the monolinguals. This provides additional evidence for the assertion that there is a trend towards the acceptance of unnecessary subject pronouns as grammatical.

(28) **Llegaron mis primos y ellos nos dieron los regalos del abuelo.**

Once again, Respondent M18 was the only participant who judged the clause containing subject-verb inversion to be ungrammatical. Once she placed the subject before the verb, the problem was corrected. Five participants (M16, M18, M19, M22 and M23) found the second clause to be unacceptable. All of them eliminated the subject pronoun in order to achieve grammaticality. These same five participants said they would not employ the sentence in conversation as presented, but would use it once the corrections were made. The remaining seven respondents had no problem with using the sentence in their daily speech.

Question 28 received complete (100%) agreement as to the acceptability of the subject-verb inversion, but a 50-50 division as to the necessity of the subject pronoun in the second clause in the Spanish-dominant bilingual group. The seven persons (BS13, BS20, BS42, BS44, BS45, BS47 and BS48)

who found the second portion of the example unacceptable simply deleted the subject pronoun.

Two of the persons (BS41 and BS46) who stated that they would not say this sentence are two of the individuals who found both portions of this sentence completely acceptable. They, together with the seven (BS13, BS20, BS42, BS44, BS45, BS47 and BS48) who had judged the second portion of the example unacceptable, raise the percentage of the population that would not employ such a sentence to 65.3.

Thirteen of the fourteen (92.9%) English-dominant bilingual informants found the first clause of this compound sentence to be grammatical. This percentage was a decrease from the 100% found amongst the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, but a slight increase from the 91.7% attributed to the monolinguals. The results of the judgments of the second clause were somewhat puzzling. Only 58.3% of the monolingual sample judged this portion to be correct. The figure dropped to 50% amongst the Spanish-dominant bilinguals and rose to 57.1% for this third group. If the trend towards acceptance of overt subjects is, in fact, occurring, this sentence provides a counter-example since the highest acceptability percentage belongs to the monolingual contributors.

BE40 found both clauses of Sentence 28 ungrammatical; the first due to the inversion of subject and verb and the second because of the overt subject pronoun. He corrected the first clause by placing the subject before the verb and the second

by deleting **ellos** (Mis primos **llegaron y nos dieron los regalos del abuelo.**). Another four respondents (BE6, BE12, BE27 and BE29) accepted the inversion of subject and verb in the first clause but agreed that the second was incorrect due to the presence of **ellos.** Their solution consisted of its deletion. BE7 began the sentence with the conjunction **cuando** ("when"), retained the inversion in the first clause, and eliminated the overt pronoun found in the second: **Cuando llegaron mis primos, nos dieron los regalos del abuelo.**

Unfortunately, in retrospect, respondents were not asked for, nor did they provide, the reason for not using the two items in this section. I can only assume that two of the three respondents (BE34 and BE37) who stated that they would not say them although finding them grammatical, did so due to the clause containing subject-verb inversion (since they replied in like fashion to items in that section). The reasons for BE36's response could not be further analyzed because she did not have a discernable pattern. Question 28 received a much lower use percentage than did Question 26. The former would be said by only 35.7% of the sample while the latter would be employed by 78.6%.

Haber Sentences Two questions containing **haber** were included in the questionnaire. Question 15 is considered grammatical while the presence of **lo** makes Question 27 agrammatical.

(15) **En la biblioteca hay unos libros de poesía para principiantes.**

There was 100% agreement amongst the monolingual participants with respect to the grammatical status of this sentence. However, Respondents M22 and M23 stated that they would not say it. Both women deleted **unos** from the statement, saying that to them it was superfluous and that the sentence sounded better without it.

100% of the Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents found Question 15 grammatically correct as presented. However, this unity breaks down when it comes to usage in daily speech. Four of the individuals questioned (28.6%), wrote that they would not say the sentence as presented. However, this was due to vocabulary differences,[26] not to the presence of **hay**.

Thirteen of fourteen English-dominant bilinguals (92.9%) considered Question 15 to be grammatically correct as presented. This 7.1% decrease in acceptability from the 100% provided by both the Spanish-dominant bilingual and monolingual respondents was due to BE35 who seemed mystified by the sentence and wrote a "?" next to it, providing no further information.

Although all the members of the English-dominant bilingual sample indicated that Question 15 was grammatical, only eight of them (57.1%) said they would use it. Five of the six that would not, based their decision on vocabulary

differences. The sixth individual's reason cannot be given as the only information provided for this item was "?".

(27) **Lo hay varias películas buenas aquí.**

Four respondents (33.3%) in the monolingual sample, M12, M13, M20 and M21, accepted the sentence as presented while the remaining eight (66.7%) stated that it was ungrammatical. Seven of the eight simply eliminated **lo** in order to make the sentence acceptable and one (M16), in addition to the deletion of **lo**, also insisted on moving **aquí** to sentence-initial position in order to correct it. The same eight informants indicated that they would not say the sentence as presented. They did indicate that once the changes were made they would use it in their everyday conversation. The four persons who accepted the sentence also indicated that they would say it. These same individuals did not produce analogous statements in their taped conversations, but did use the forms of **haber** without the inclusion of **lo**.

Eleven of the Spanish-dominant participants (78.6%) found Sentence 27 ungrammatical and corrected it by deleting the initial word. BS43 and BS46 were totally confounded by the sentence, next to which they simply placed a question mark to indicate their lack of comprehension. In placing these two additional respondents with those finding the sentence incorrect, the consensus is raised to 92.9%. Neither made any attempt to make it intelligible. BS47, however, did not hesitate to label the example as correct.

This sentence was the only one to receive a 0% usage rating. Even the person (BS47) who had accepted the statement as grammatical wrote that she would not use it.

Twelve of the English-dominant participants (85.7%) found this item ungrammatical and corrected it by deleting the unnecessary initial word. Since BE32 indicated his inability to judge the sentence by placing a "?" next to the sentence, he could not be placed in either group. Those judging this sentence ungrammatical increased from 66.7% to 92.9% between the monolingual and the Spanish-dominant bilingual individuals, which then decreases to 85.7% in the English-dominant group. BE29 was the only participant in the last group to judge the sentence grammatical. This increase in rates can be explained by the fact that both sets of bilinguals learned more of their Spanish (and, therefore, grammar and its rules) in a classroom setting than the monolinguals who have learned their language at home.

BE29 was the only participant who admitted to saying a sentence containing **lo** with **haber**. Even BE32, who had written "?" as to acceptability, denied producing the structure.

Resumptive Pronoun and Overt Subject Pronoun Question 24 contains both a resumptive and an overt subject pronoun. Although the use of the resumptive pronoun is an acceptable strategy in such a sentence in standard Spanish, the use of the overt subject pronoun is unnecessary.

(24) **A Elena la noté que ella bailaba muy bien.**

The results within the monolingual population are equally divided; six found the sentence acceptable as presented, while six made the following two changes. M16, M18, M22 and M23 (33.3%) eliminated the resumptive pronoun and reconstructed the sentence so as to yield **Noté que Elena bailaba muy bien.** M15 and M19 (16.7%) retained the resumptive pronoun while deleting the overt subject pronoun in order to produce **A Elena la noté que bailaba muy bien.** The pattern of usage follows that of acceptability; the same six individuals who found the statement unacceptable, indicated that they also would not employ it.

Only four Spanish-dominant individuals (28.6%) found the clause containing the resumptive pronoun in Question 24 to be correct. These same four respondents (BS18, BS20, BS23 and BS46) also accepted the overt pronoun as correct, thereby making no changes to the example. The most frequent method of making the sentence acceptable was employed by six of the remaining respondents (BS5, BS31, BS42, BS43, BS47 and BS48). They achieved grammaticality by eliminating the resumptive pronoun strategy, thereby creating **Noté que Elena bailaba muy bien.**, the same solution employed by a number of the monolinguals. Only one respondent (BS13) eliminated the unnecessary subject pronoun **ella** and retained the resumptive pronoun construction (**A Elena la noté que bailaba muy bien.**). BS41 deleted the unnecessary subject pronoun but replaced the resumptive pronoun with that indicating an indirect object (**A**

Elena le noté que bailaba muy bien.). This latter option was employed by BS43, who also retained the overt subject pronoun (**A Elena le noté que ella bailaba muy bien.**). BS45 resolved his problem by simplifying the sentence: **Elena baila muy bien.**

Only one person, BS18, indicated that she would use resumptive pronouns in her speech. With a percentage of usage of only 7.1%, this is one of the least employed sentences, in spite of the fact that it is considered grammatical by more than just this one individual.

BE35 labeled this question with a "?", showing once again an uncertainty regarding the grammaticality of uncommon Spanish sentences. Nine English-dominant bilingual individuals (64.3%) found the first clause of the sentence to be correct. The number dropped to seven (50%) for the clause containing the overt pronoun. BE6, BE7, BE36 and BE40 (28.6%) found the first clause of the sentence incorrect while BE6, BE7, BE27, BE29, BE36 and BE39 found the second clause ungrammatical. Only BE27, BE29 and BE39 corrected the sentence by retaining the resumptive pronoun and eliminating the unneeded subject pronoun (**A Elena la noté que bailaba muy bien.**) The four others who corrected the sentence gave several options. BE6, BE7 and BE36 chose **Noté que Elena bailaba muy bien.** and BE40 wrote **Elena notó que ella bailaba muy bien.**, thereby making the sentence ambiguous.

Again, the respondents did not provide their reasons for not employing Question 24 in their speech. A total of seven individuals found the sentence ungrammatical when the responses to the two clauses were added together. When they were combined with four participants who found both clauses correct, the percentage of those who would not say this rises to 78.6. This left only three (21.4%) who wrote that they would make the statement as presented.

4.4.2.3 English Sentences

Introduction The sixteen English sentences can be divided into the following groups: (1)Overt Subject Pronouns (Questions 2, 3, 11, 12 and 14); (2)Missing Subjects (Questions 1 and 15); (3)Arbitrary Subjects (Questions 4 and 5); (4)Subject-Verb Inversion (Question 9); (5)Expletive Pronouns (Questions 10, 13 and 16); (6)Left- Dislocated Focus Pronoun (Question 8); and, (7)That-t Violations (Questions 6 and 7). This is the order that the analysis and discussion of the informants' responses to the individual items will follow.

A table containing the tabulation of the rating of the Spanish translations of the English sentences is provided in the Appendix II. Therefore, the translated sentences will not be individually discussed in this section.

Overt Subject Pronouns For the non-linguist, one of the most easily identifiable differences between Spanish and English is the obligatory use of subject pronouns in the

latter. Three of the four questions which fall under this category are grammatically correct (Questions 2, 3 and 11).

(2) Mark is very tired. He has slept very little this week.

Thirteen of the Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents (92.9%) indicated that the set of sentences presented as Question 2 was acceptable as written. BS47 joined the two sentences together by means of the conjunction "and" and eliminated the subject pronoun of the second, creating "Mark is very tired and has slept very little this week".

All fifteen English-dominant bilingual respondents (100%)[27] indicated that these sentences were grammatical as written. Although BE38 and BE39 judged them as incorrect, their reasons for doing so were based on verb tense and vocabulary rather than on the presence of the overt pronoun. BE38 eliminated "has" from the sentence and BE39 rewrote it as "He hardly got any sleep". This was an increase in acceptability from the 92.9% calculated for the Spanish-dominant bilinguals.

(3) John is better looking than he thinks.

Question 3 elicited 100% agreement amongst the members of the Spanish-dominant bilingual group. All noted that it was correct.

There was also 100% agreement amongst the English-dominant bilingual members of the sample population regarding this sentence. All agreed that it was grammatical. These

results were identical to those provided by the Spanish-dominant bilinguals questioned.

(11) I am more intelligent than I think I am.

Although Question 11 parallels Question 3, the Spanish-dominant bilingual group was evenly divided as to its correctness. BS20, BS42, BS43 and BS44, who made the sentence acceptable by deleting the second instance of "I am", are among those who found it unacceptable. The other three (BS13, BS45 and BS48) wrote "I am more intelligent than what I think." as the corrected version of this sentence. The remaining seven individuals judged it grammatical and made no other comments.

This sentence received 100% judgments of acceptability from the English-dominant bilinguals as to the grammaticality of the overt subjects. However, three respondents (BE7, BE17 and BE38) marked it incorrect for other reasons. BE7 suggested "I am more intelligent than I thought." while BE17 and BE38 wrote "I am more intelligent than I think." None of the changes involved the inappropriateness of the subject pronoun.

(12) They think that they always do whatever they want.

Eight (57.1%) members of the Spanish-dominant bilingual group judged Question 12 to be correct even though its Spanish counterpart would require a missing subject pronoun in the second clause. BS18, the woman who displayed a variety of problems with other traits generally associated with the Pro-

drop parameter, had no problem with the obligatoriness of subjects in English. Although BS20 labelled the sentence incorrect, she did not offer an alternative. However, the remaining five (35.7%) individuals who found this sentence unacceptable presented four different ways to yield a correct statement. Their solutions included the following variations: BS5 wrote "They think that they can always do what they want"; BS13, "They think they always do whatever they want"; BS23, offered a combination of the two previous possibilities, "They think they can always do to whatever they want"; and BS42 and BS45 offered the alternative, "They think that they can do whatever they want". However, the problems for these people do not rest with the abundance of subject pronouns, but with vocabulary, so that in reality, the acceptability is much higher (92.9%) than would appear at first glance.

Only six members (40.0%) of the English-dominant bilingual group judged this item to be correct. However, upon analysis of the responses, the percentage increased to 100% because those who found this sentence unacceptable, did so for reasons other than the presence of subject pronouns. BE32 marked the example as incorrect but proposed no alternative. The single option offered by the other eight informants was "They think that they can always do whatever they want."

(14) If he doesn't stop eating, John is going to get very fat.

Question 14 was accepted as correct by the vast majority of monolingual English speakers who I surveyed. The point here is that, unlike Spanish, one cannot eliminate the pronoun and continue to have a grammatically correct sentence. Only three Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents (21.4%) found the sentence to be incorrect. BS23 and BS48 corrected the sentence by inverting the order of the two clauses ("John is going to get very fat if he doesn't stop eating."), while BS46 substituted the pronoun "he" for the proper noun "John" ("If he doesn't stop eating, he is going to get very fat."). 78.6% of the informants (eleven of them) accepted the sentence as presented.

Only three English-dominant bilingual respondents (20.0%) found the sentence to be incorrect. BE6 and BE39 corrected it by exchanging the places occupied by "John" and "he" ("If John doesn't stop eating, he is going to get very fat."), while BE29 inverted the order of the two clauses ("John is going to get very fat if he doesn't stop eating."). 80.0% of the informants (twelve of them) accepted the sentence as presented, seeing nothing wrong with the pronoun preceding its antecedent.

Missing Subjects

(1) Watched a very bad movie last night.

Only two Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents, BS13 and BS18, considered this sentence without an overt subject to be correct. This, however, can be attributed to the fact that in

spoken English a "telegram" version of the language is often used to report, rather than describe, events. The example provided here could be interpreted in this manner and does not necessarily indicate an acceptance of missing subjects in English. The twelve individuals (85.7%) who found the sentence ungrammatical corrected it by inserting a subject pronoun. The most frequently used pronoun was the first person singular "I" (7 times), followed by the first person plural "we" (3 times). BS44 gave the choice of either "I" or "we" and BS48 wrote "needs a subject". However, when BS48 translated the sentence into Spanish, the form of the verb used (**vio**) indicated a third person singular subject.

There was 100% agreement among the English-dominant bilinguals regarding the ungrammaticality of this sentence. All participants inserted a subject pronoun at the beginning of the statement to correct the problem, although the choice of pronoun varied. As with the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, the most frequently added pronoun was the first person singular "I" (9 times), followed by the first person plural "we" (3 times). The remaining two individuals, BE34 and BE40 wrote in "He" and the choice of either "I", "He" or "we", respectively.

Although there was unanimity in the lack of acceptability of Question 15, the solutions provided by the Spanish-dominant bilinguals were varied.

(15) I telephoned my friends and are sick.

Eight (57.1%) inserted "they" immediately following "and" and were done with it. BS31 and BS41 can be added to this group, although they also disliked the verb "telephoned" and changed it to "called". The sentence that BS5 and BS43 composed substituted the relative "who" for the conjunction "and", thus solving the problem of acceptability. BS13 and BS42 assumed that the caller already knew the friends were sick and shortened the sentence to read "I telephoned my sick friends". Regardless of the solution, all respondents demonstrate an ability to recognize the fact that missing subjects are neither "normal" nor acceptable in English.

The responses to Question 15 again demonstrated unanimity among the English-dominant bilinguals regarding its ungrammaticality. Once again, BE32 failed to provide a corrected version of the sentence. However, the rest of the group members provided a variety of solutions. Nine (60.0%) inserted "they" immediately following "and" in order to correct it. Three individuals (BE7, BE37 and BE40) disliked the verb "telephoned" and changed it to "called" while also changing "and" to "who". BE17 offered "My friends are ill so I called them." and BE38 expressed a similar thought by writing "My friends are sick and I telephoned." The responses offered by this group were similar to those offered by the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. Regardless of the solution, these speakers demonstrated the ability to recognize that null

subjects are not "normal" nor acceptable in English and, therefore, do not construct sentences without subjects.

Arbitrary Subjects

(4) They say that it is going to rain.

Two of the Spanish-dominant bilingual individuals (BS13 and BS20) who judged this sentence to be incorrect did so due to the presence of "that", rather than the arbitrary nature of the subject pronoun.[28] This being the case, there is complete agreement regarding the correctness of this example among the thirteen informants who judged it. BS5 gave no information regarding this example, perhaps he just simply overlooked it.

There is unanimous agreement among the fifteen English-dominant bilinguals as to the grammatical status of Question 4. The three respondents (BE6, BE29 and BE39) that judged this sentence unacceptable did so due to the presence of "that".[29] BE29 and BE35 proposed "They say it is going to rain." as the corrected version of the sentence and BE39 proposed the almost identical "They say it's going to rain.".[30]

This sentence could also be placed under the heading of "Expletive Pronouns". However, the responses of these individuals indicated that there would have been unanimous agreement as to the validity and correctness of the expletive in the weather expression.

Although Question 5 is an example of a missing subject as well as one of an arbitrary subject, I placed it under the latter classification because the majority of corrections indicate that the respondents gave it the indefinite/arbitrary reading.[31]

(5) I think that are knocking at the door.

Only BS18 classified this sentence as correct. The other thirteen Spanish-dominant bilingual individuals provided a variety of solutions in order to achieve acceptability. BS5, BS41, BS43, BS45 and BS47 rewrote it as "I think that they (someone) are (is) knocking at the door". Similarly, BS13, BS23 and BS44 wrote "I think someone is knocking at the door"; BS31, BS42 and BS48 volunteered "I think they are knocking at the door"; and, BS46 provided "I think that someone is knocking at the door". BS20 came up with "I think that there is knocking at the door."

BE32 and BE40 (13.3%) classified this sentence as correct. The other English-dominant bilingual respondents (86.7%) provided sentences which included either the pronoun "they" or the indefinite "someone" in order to achieve grammaticality, each with a variant in which "that" was eliminated. BE6 and BE37 wrote "I think that someone is knocking at the door" while BE7, BE17 and BE39 provided "I think someone is knocking at the door". The most popular option was "I think that they are knocking at the door", given by BE12, BE27, BE29, BE33, BE36 and BE38. BE34 and BE35

proposed "I think they are knocking at the door" as the final option.

Subject-Verb Inversion Only BS18, representing 7.1% of the Spanish-dominant bilingual sample, accepted the inversion of subject and verb in English. Since there is only one example, it is impossible to ascertain the reason for this woman's decision. It could be due to its acceptability in Spanish, to the choice of vocabulary, or simply to chance.

(9) Already have arrived my friends.

Although BS20 found this sentence grammatically incorrect, she did not correct it. The remaining twelve individuals who found it unacceptable reversed the order of the verb and subject, placing "my friends" in sentence-initial position.

Fourteen of the English-dominant bilingual participants (93.3%) did not accept the inversion of subject and verb in a declarative English sentence as grammatical. The most numerous response, given by twelve (80.0%) of the speakers was "My friends have already arrived.", and "My friends arrived already," and "My friends have arrived already" were the two variants provided by BE33 and BE38, respectively. BE32 moved the subject between the auxiliary verb and the past participle ("Have my friends arrived already."), creating a statement as incorrect as that presented. At first glance it could be assumed that he was creating a question, but the Spanish translation indicated a declarative, not an interrogative, statement. Inasmuch as this is the only example of subject-

verb inversion in English declarative sentences, it cannot be determined if the subject was placed in its final position deliberately or mistakenly by this young man.

Expletive Pronouns The two examples which are lacking expletives are incorrect (Questions 10 and 16) while the third, containing "it", Question 13, is correct.

(10) Is very cold in Alaska in winter.

The Spanish-dominant bilinguals unanimously agree that Question 10 is ungrammatical. Eleven of the informants supplied the missing expletive "it", although it was placed in a variety of positions and the order of the prepositional phrases varied. Two of them, BS5 and BS42 managed to create sentences having the same message with "Alaska" and "The winters" as the subject of the sentence.[32] However, BS18, who also considered the sentence incorrect, corrected it by moving the prepositional phrase "in Alaska" to sentence-initial position without inserting the necessary "it", thereby creating an equally ungrammatical sentence. This solution leads me to assume that for this respondent, lack of expletives is the norm, especially since this same woman accepted Question 16, which also lacks the obligatory pronoun, as correct.

BE32 and BE40 accepted Question 10 as grammatical although they judged Question 4 (another statement containing "it" with a weather expression) to be correct. The remaining thirteen English-dominant bilingual respondents (86.7%) agreed

that this item was ungrammatical, and provided numerous ways of correcting it. Ten of the informants supplied the missing "it", although they placed it in a variety of positions and the order of the prepositional phrases varied. BE6 wrote "It is very cold in Alaska this winter.", which changes the meaning expressed by the sentence. BE7, BE34, BE35 and BE37 not only inserted the expletive but substituted the preposition "in" with "during the" yielding "It is very cold in Alaska during the winter.". Another two, BE27 and BE36, fronted the prepositional phrase "in the winter", producing "In the winter it is very cold in Alaska." BE29, BE33 and BE38 provided "It is very cold in Alaska in winter.". The remaining three respondents (BE12 and BE17, and BE39) made "Alaska" the subject of the sentence when they rewrote the sentence as "Alaska is very cold in winter." and "During winter Alaska is very cold.", thereby eliminating the need for the expletive pronoun.

(13) It is very sunny at the beach.

This sentence also elicited 100% agreement regarding its grammatical acceptability among the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. There seems to be no problem with the obligatoriness of this pronoun which is nonexistent and whose position cannot be filled by a lexical item in Spanish.

As with the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, there was 100% agreement regarding the grammaticality of the sentence among

the English-dominant bilingual individuals. The obligatory nature of this pronoun does not seem to cause a problem.

(16) Is a very large chalkboard in our Spanish class.

The only person in the Spanish-dominant bilingual group to accept this incorrect English sentence was BS18, supporting the analysis that, like her Spanish, her English lacks this structure. The thirteen other informants all corrected Question 16 by beginning the sentence with "There".

In the English-dominant bilingual group, the only person to accept this incorrect English sentence was BE17, who correctly placed the other two examples in this section and Question 4 in their proper grammatical category. Although the other fourteen informants (93.3%) found Question 16 ungrammatical, BE32 did not correct it and BE40 provided the rather curious "It's a very large chalkboard in our Spanish class." BE7 converted the statement into a question by posing "Is there a very large chalkboard in our Spanish class?". The remaining eleven participants simply inserted "There" at the beginning the sentence.

Left-Dislocated Focus Pronoun Once again, BS18 accepted Question 8, a rather marked construction containing a left dislocated focus pronoun. The fact that this woman received only an elementary school education in English (even though she was 14 years old when she arrived in the United States from Durango, Mexico) helps to explain her lack of mastery of the language.

(8) Her I noticed that she danced very well.

BS13 corrected the sentence by eliminating "Her" from the beginning of the sentence and "that" as well. The remaining twelve informants simply removed "Her" in order to construct a grammatical sentence.

Within the English-dominant bilingual sample, there was 100% agreement regarding the ungrammaticality of the appearance of the left-dislocated pronoun in Question 8. Eleven (73.3%) of the corrections took the form of "I noticed that she danced very well.". In addition to eliminating the unnecessary pronoun, BE7 and BE32 also changed the verb tense; the former from the preterite to the present, and the latter from the preterite to the present perfect. BE39 made some additional modifications, thereby creating "I notice she dances quite well." BE33 exhibited some confusion as to the reason for the ungrammaticality, changing the subject of the sentence from "I" to "she" ("She noticed that she danced very well.")

That-t Violations The majority of Spanish-dominant bilingual informants did not accept what is considered to be an incorrect English sentence. BS18, who had trouble with a number of structures, and BS46, are the only persons who believe Question 6 to be grammatical.

(6) Who have you said that is going to be late?

Eleven of the twelve remaining individuals corrected the sentence by the deletion of "that", although the tense of

either one or both of the verbs was changed in all but the option presented by BS20, BS47 and BS48 ("Who have you said is going to be late?"). BS5 and BS31, changed the first verb from the present perfect to the past tense (to "did you say"). BS13 agreed with the previous response but changed "is going to be" to "would be". And BS23 and BS42 also agreed with the first verb change and, in addition, changed the tense of the second verb from the present to the simple past. The change suggested by BS41 ("Whom have you said that is going to be late?") is generally considered a hypercorrection, due to common confusion between the use of "who" and "whom". This young woman replaced "who" with "whom" but retained the structure which leads to the original unacceptability of the sentence. Although it has been demonstrated that many varieties of U.S. English do not systematically reject **that-t** violations, when twenty monolingual Anglo-Texans of comparable socio-economic status whose speech could be used as a model by Mexicans learning English were asked to judge the acceptability of item 6, only three of them accepted the sentence as presented. The seventeen who rejected it as ungrammatical simply eliminated "that" to achieve grammaticality.

Thirteen of the fifteen English-dominant bilingual respondents (86.7%) did not accept the incorrect English sentence. Six of them provided the expected "Who have you said is going to be late?" An additional three (BE7, BE38 and

BE39) eliminated "that" and changed "have you said" to "did you say". BE32 indicated that if the tense were changed as just stated, "that" could remain in the sentence ("Who did you say that is going to be late?").[33] BE6 provided a variety of changes, among them a case of hypercorrection of the interrogative pronoun ("Whom did you say is going to be late?"). BE34 simply rewrote the sentence to say "Who is going to be late?" whereas BE36 provided no alternative.

Among the members of the Spanish-dominant bilingual sample there is almost unanimous agreement as to the grammatical status of Question 7.

(7) Who did you say had left? I didn't pay attention. Although twelve informants (85.7%) considered the question correct as presented, BS13, who indicated that it was incorrect, did so for reasons other than a that-t violation, thus 92.9% of the informants made the correct grammatical determination. The result of the changes made by BS13 is the following sentence: "Who did you say left? I was not paying attention." BS31's changes resulted in another incorrect sentence; "Who did say left? I didn't pay attention." The same twenty English-speaking monolinguals previously mentioned were unanimous in their acceptance of the grammaticality of question 7, thus showing that a great majority of these speakers do not accept that-t violations. See Sobin (1987) for an explanation of the variable behavior of that-t phenomena in English.

Although only ten of the fifteen English-dominant informants (66.7%) considered the question correct as presented, the five who indicated that it was incorrect did so for reasons other than a **that-t** violation. Thus, 100% of these informants made the correct grammatical determination. The result of the changes made by four of the five individuals in the latter group (BE7, BE39, BE29 and BE38) was "Who did you say left? I was not paying/did not pay attention." BE6 once again used "whom" rather than "who" as well as changing the verb tense, making her final product the equally incorrect "Whom did you say left? I didn't pay attention."

Summary It is evident from these sixteen sentences that the great majority of the Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents handle English, their second language, with ease. Only one example yielded responses in the opposite direction of prescriptive English usage and that was Question 14, whose status is in a state of change within mainstream monolingual speakers of English and, therefore, cannot be construed as a contact phenomenon. Question 11, which at first glance showed a 50-50 split in judgments, and Question 12, which likewise showed a misleading initial 57-43 split, both turn out to show almost complete unanimity with standard English use. The deviations have causes which cannot be associated with the obligatoriness of overt subjects in English as opposed to its optional nature in Spanish and, therefore, cannot be the result of transference/interference due to language contact.

The same can be said for the English-dominant bilinguals. With the exception of two items, Questions 5 and 10, the grammaticality judgments of this group of bilinguals is either equal to or only slightly better than that of their Spanish-dominant counterparts. This can be attributed to the fact that a great majority of the respondents in both bilingual groups are university students. Those that are not, are generally those responsible for the grammaticality judgments that do not agree with standard monolingual English usage. As with the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, Question 14 again yielded responses in the opposite direction of prescriptive English usage. Since the status of sentences such as this one is subject to considerable variation among speakers of American English, it cannot be construed as either a contact phenomenon or lack of English proficiency.

4.4.3 Recorded Interviews

Prior to filling out the questionnaire, each of the informants was encouraged to participate in a tape recorded interview. While most of them were enthusiastic about this part of the study, a few declined to be recorded and only contributed to the written data.

A series of 30- to 45-minute interviews with each of fifteen monolingual, twenty-eight Spanish-dominant and nineteen English-dominant speakers was recorded on audio cassettes. I attempted to conduct all conversations entirely in Spanish, a task which became increasingly difficult as the

interviewees' proficiency in Spanish declined. Lapses into English or code-switching when vocabulary became a problem were among the strategies used by more English-dominant bilinguals. Each informant was asked to discuss any topic(s) s/he wished and with which s/he felt comfortable and/or knowledgeable. To increase the comfort level, all interviews took place at a location chosen by the participant. This was important in order to capture a representative sample of each informant's speech. When a participant seemed to be uncomfortable or reticent, s/he was asked questions regarding his/her childhood and family life. Due to the candor and openness exhibited by most of the informants, these conversations provide excellent samples of the speech of the participants.

The recordings were transcribed and 1000 to 1500 words from the transcription of each respondent's speech was used for each of the three groups under study. The selected portion of each interview was then analyzed so that the type of subjects, the frequency of subject pronouns and their use by each informant could be determined. The isolated segments of uninterrupted narrative contained conversation which was of sufficient length and variety in order to ascertain the optional/obligatory nature of the pronouns employed according to the context in which they appeared and the function which they served. This, in turn, led to the determination of redundant subject pronoun usage (or lack thereof) attributable

to each individual belonging to each of the three generations of Spanish speakers.

In order to determine which of the overt subject pronouns employed by the respondents were redundant, I counted all the overt pronouns in the transcribed sections of the recorded interviews. I eliminated from the grouping all those whose function it was to emphasize, contrast or clarify the subject of the sentence. I also discounted those without whose presence the identification of the subject would not be possible. In M1's recording, I asked her what her daughter was studying at the university. Her response included an overabundance of third person singular (overt) pronouns which I classified as redundant due to the fact that the subject (her daughter) had already been identified not only in the question but in the immediately preceding portion of the conversation. The redundant pronouns are underscored for ease of identification.

SBS: ¿Qué estudia ella?

M1: <u>Ella</u> está estudiando para maestra bilingüe. <u>Ella</u> va a hacer vocación porque le gusta enseñar. Y ella, pienso yo, que como <u>ella</u> tuvo sus problemas cuando vinimos a este país, que <u>ella</u> quiere dar a otros lo que <u>ella</u> creyó que no tuvo.

In the excerpt, I do not consider the instance of **yo** redundant since it is used by the speaker to emphasize the fact that what follows is her own opinion.

The total number of possible occurrences of noun, pronoun and null subjects was counted. The subject pronouns counted were then grouped according to person and number (**yo, tú, él, ella, Ud., nosotros, ellos, ellas,** and **Uds.**) to determine whether it is the identity of the antecedent of a particular pronoun that triggers its presence or absence. Care was taken to include segments in which the nature/identity of the null subjects (personal, non-human, arbitrary or pleonastic) could be determined by the context provided. In addition to the above, the total number of instances of subject-verb inversion was ascertained and subdivided into nominal and pronominal subjects. Although the pronouns were grouped according to person and number in order to determine whether the frequency was related to the identity of the pronoun, there appears to be no significant statistical connection between the identity of the pronoun and its frequency. The only connection between pronouns identity and usage was discourse context. The usage of impersonal/existential constructions involving the verb **haber** (whose subjects are always null and were counted as a component thereof) were also studied since they related to pronominal subject usage. The goal of these counts was to discern trends in the employment of overt subject pronouns as proficiency decreases in one language (Spanish) and increases in the other (English).

4.4.3.1 Monolingual informants

Only fourteen of the twenty-three monolinguals who participated in the study provided taped interviews.[34] The analyzed portions of the fourteen recordings yielded 1940 subject tokens.[35] The average number of total subjects per respondent equals 138.5.[36]

Redundant Overt Pronouns The overt pronoun most used by this group of respondents was the first person singular **yo**. It accounts for 51.7% of all the pronouns produced by the monolingual sample which may be attributable to the fact that most of the stories told by these individuals dealt with their childhood in Mexico, their move to and life in the United States, and family situations.

M9, who had the highest overall percentage of occurrences of **yo** (77%), shared the following information regarding his girlfriend:

> **La conocí en una casa, o sea cuando yo llegué aquí viví con un señor donde trabajaba y entonces el señor, este, tenía su hermano y estaba casado, verdad, pues allí conocí yo a su hermana. Así la conozco un tiempo, pero ella no estaba aquí, estaba en Chicago. Y luego llegó de Chicago aquí con su hermana, la que yo conocía y pues allí empezamos a platicar y a salir.**

Only the two final overt pronouns in the above segment are not redundant. In the instance where **ella** is inserted, its function is to avoid ambiguity since both the first and third

person singular verb forms of the past imperfect tense have the same form. The final **yo** is necessary since there is a change in subject and there remains the aforementioned ambiguity in verb forms.

More than half the time Respondent M1 employed pronouns, she did so redundantly. In the passage which follows M1 explains why it is that she has not succeeded in learning English.

> **Entonces Ud. las vio en su casa. Está como ahora, si yo llego a tener nietos, digo yo, mis nietos sí van a, pero yo, que ya vengo con razonamiento, con pensamiento, con corazón de allá, no es muy fácil. Y peor si uno está encerrado aquí entre cuatro paredes. Y creo yo que también influye mucho que ahora hay mucho medio de comunicación en español. Cuando yo llegué, yo no conocía a nadie.**

With the exception of the one found in postverbal position, presence of the other overt pronoun is unnecessary; the context and morphosyntactic markers identify the subject adequately.

Respondent M13 makes minimal use of overt subject pronouns. In the fragment which follows, she describes her husband and the relationship which they share.

> **Pues, él está muy bien. Nos llevamos muy bien y todo, y siempre vamos de acuerdo en todo. El va conmigo para México también. El me lleva. Este, nunca me ha enseñado**

a manejar pero él sí sabe y él me lleva. Cuando se ofrece ir, pues, vamos él y yo. Pero él aprecia, él quiere mucho a mi familia y todo. Y está muy contento porque ya no tiene, este, él tiene a hermanos nada más porque ya su mamá y su papá de él murieron.

In the entire transcription, this woman produced only nineteen individual pronouns plus the combination of **él y yo** (shown above), of which thirteen were redundant. The appearance of **él**, when the subject's identity has already been established and where no focus/contrast is being demonstrated, provides evidence of the redundant nature of the overt pronouns when this informant employs overt pronouns in her speech.

A sample of the speech of Respondent M14 was chosen due to her frequent production of unnecessary overt pronouns, as seen in this explanation of the differences between her family and that of her husband.

Pues, sí, ocho personas, pero como le digo, nosotros no nos criamos tan unidos como la familia de mi esposo. La familia de mi esposo sí es muy unida. Ellos, este, como le digo, en diciembre se juntan siempre. La diferencia fue tal vez que mi papá y mi mamá se separaron. Entonces yo creo que, que tiene que ver mucho que qué es lo que nosotros viéramos en un vínculo familiar, de padre y madre para que exista ese respeto y esa unión entre nosotros los hermanos. Porque si no hay eso nos conviene nomás a nosotros seguir a ellos y casi nunca nosotros

pensamos hay que verlos. Y la familia de mi esposo no, porque la madre y el padre de ellos casi siempre llaman y están allá, júntense cada fin de semana. Entonces cada fin de semana nos juntamos. Este, casi nunca, es raro el día sábado, el día domingo, este, casi el sábado siempre nos juntamos. Y es raro el día sábado que nosotros no nos juntemos. Y así en casa de cada uno de nosotros, pero esto es parte de la mamá y el papá de él creo yo porque ellos siempre son muy unidos. Ellos nos hablan y nos dicen "¿Cómo vistes a tu hermano? ¿Vistes a tu hermana?" Ellos siempre nos andan diciendo y será que la familia mía, mi mamá nunca fue, este, que nos dijera a nosotros que nos juntáramos. Yo creo que ésa es la diferencia. Me imagino yo.

The lengthy excerpt contains a variety of unnecessary overt pronouns whose redundancy is especially evident in the repetition of **ellos** and **nosotros** in sentences where the identity of the subject is clear due to verb-final morphology or where reflexive or object pronouns make the subject unmistakable.

Table 4.9 compares the total number of overt pronouns with the total number of those classified as redundant, by respondent classification.

TABLE 4.9
TOTAL OVERT PRONOUNS VS TOTAL REDUNDANT PRONOUNS

	Total Overt Pronouns	Total Redundant Pronouns
Mono (N=14)	373	213
BS (N=28)	908	491
BE (N=19)	573	325

Null Subjects The 1204 null subjects can be subdivided into those that are personal and those that are obligatorily non-overt, i.e., (1)non-human, (2)arbitrary and (3)pleonastic/expletive (which include the instances of the verb **haber**). When a pronoun is both human and obligatorily missing, as in some of the quantified sentences in the questionnaire, it has been placed among the human non-overt subjects.

Personal (Optionally) Non-Overt Pronouns In the following excerpts, from four different monolingual speakers, the locations of null personal subjects are marked with ø in order to point them out.

M2, shared the following information regarding her youngest son, whom she recently had taken to visit Mexico without any of his siblings for the first time.

Bien grande que ø está, bien grandote. Y ahora que ø fuimos a México, lo ø llevé. Siempre ø los hemos llevado, y, este, pero ellos, como ø estaban trabajando, no pudieron ir. Entonces ø nos lo llevamos a él y ø

dice, "A, mamá," ø dice, "Yo no voy. ø Déjame mejor aquí," ø dice, porque se le hacía muy, este, no ir con el hermano. Y después, "Sí, sí, sí, ø los acompaño." Y ø nos fuimos. Y todos me decían, "¿Cómo ø voy a creer que éste es el niño chiquito?". ø Digo. Y se puede creer los grandes, pues, ya ø están grandes.

Most of the sentences in the segment above show subject positions containing **pro**. This segment provides an excellent example of null subjects whose identity is clearly ascertained by the presence of morphosyntactic markers or discourse content. The only overt subject pronoun, **yo**, is employed in order to focus and put emphasis on the subject.

M7, a young gardener, talks about his childhood in Mexico and how he quit elementary school in order to work.

En veces, cuando nosotros estábamos saliendo de la escuela, ø me iba con ellos a trabajar en eso de legumbres, lechugas, ajos, a sacarles las hierbas. Y, pues, en las tardes, cuando ø llegábamos a la casa, nada más a jugar. Y, pues, así ha sido casi toda mi vida. ø He sido muy, pero me gusta mucho deporte, trabajar también, allá en lo que también ø hacían, por eso nomás ø aguanté hasta la primaria. Cuando ø me preguntaron que si ø era estudiante, ø les dije que no, mejor ø me iba a salir para ayudarles. Pues, ø anduve un tiempo con ellos y ya después ø me salí con los amigos a ayudarles también. Así ø andaba. A veces nada más ø me quedaba en

la casa, ø andaba otras veces, pero trabajando. Y pues, como de 15 o 16 años, ø me vine para acá.

The lack of overt subjects is evident in M7's story. **pro** is found in subject position in fifteen of the available seventeen locations. The one overt pronoun is redundant since the subject is easily recovered from the verb-final morphology and does not serve to contrast, focus or emphasize the subject of the sentence.

The speech of M3 contains a mixture of nouns, overt pronouns and null subjects. However, the preponderance of the null subjects is evident in this selection where she talks about her sister, whose toe was amputated due to diabetes.

Mi hermana, con la que ø vivimos aquí. Ella y yo, la mayor y yo, este, también ø me le amputaron un dedo, el febrero 18, el dedo chiquito. Pero ø no me lo ha de creer, señora, que nadien (sic), no ø sabíamos que ella tenía ese dedo infectado. ¿Sabe ø por qué? Ella se ponía calcetines. Pero, Ud. cree, calcetines, y le seguía caminando la enfermedad, que le salía primero un puntito, un puntito. Fíjate ø, que le salió un lunar. ø Le dijo a Verónica, a su hija, la chica. Pero no ø era lunar. ø Era algo como un mezquino negro, verdad, y ø se va adentro. Adentro está la infección. Le daban calenturas. Le daban vómitos. "¿Qué tienes ø, Enedina?" "ø Comí algo," verdad, que ø decía. "ø Comí algo y ø me hizo daño. ø Me hizo daño."

pro is the subject of sixteen of the possible twenty-three subject positions. Five of these slots represent non-human subjects, and, in Spanish, inanimate objects that are subjects cannot be replaced by overt pronouns. Therefore, the subject position must remain empty, i.e, lacking lexical material. The instances of non-human subjects are indicated by Ø in the segment provided.

Obligatory Non-Overt Subjects Arbitrary or indefinite subjects are indicated in Spanish by the use of the third person plural verb form without its corresponding overt pronoun. It is the equivalent of the English "they" or "someone" in expressions such as "They say it's going to rain" and "Someone's on the phone". Almost half of the examples of this practice were supplied by M2, M3 and M12. In answer to questions asking where she and her husband were married and to describe her wedding, M2 shared the following.

M2: **En México. Muy bonito. Nos casamos. Eran dos hermanos, por eso fue doble boda. Muy bonita. Estuvo muy bonito. La iglesia se arregló muy bonito. Nos vestimos de largo. Estuvo muy bonito. Compusieron muy bonito la iglesia.**

The next portion explains why she was not able to immediately travel to the U.S. with her husband and was forced to remain with her husband's parents.

Yo no pude pasar, porque como me había casado, no me dejaron pasar hasta que arreglara los papeles.

> Yo estaba con pasaporte local. Y cuando me casé, no me dejaron pasar. Les dije, "No puedo pasar yo porque ya me tienen en la lista. Pos, si me agarran, ya no me la dan." Y así duré un año. Al año arreglé mis papeles y me vine.

Based on the contexts in which the verbs appear, it is evident that the speaker is not referring to a specific group of people in any of the examples. In the first paragraph, "they" fixed up the church and in the second, "they", presumably those who work for INS, are also of indefinite or arbitrary identity.

In the excerpt below, after a short interruption due to a telephone call, M3 talks about the amputation of her sister's toe and the hospitalization and operation leading up to the event.

> M3: Sí, ahora está bien. Estábamos hablando de los diabéticos. Pues, le amputaron su dedito. Aquí está. Si ve Ud. Y luego, la operaron. La operaron de su pie y se lo amputaron su pie.

M12 spent much of her time recounting her early days in the U.S. when she lived with her sister and the sister's husband in South Texas.

> M12: Y también, este, iba yo para un puerto que le dicen, este, Puerto Chico, allí en Brownsville, donde bajan todos los barquitos del camarón. Y allí descabezaba yo. Pagaban por cubetitas 50

> **centavos. Es que ella se vino con el esposo para acá. Y luego ellos ya se vieron más mejor porque a él le gustaba mucho el negocio. Entonces se vinieron para Matamoros y allí empezaron a hacer negocio ellos. Viví entonces en Matamoros. Todo lo que es del puente viejo al puente nuevo que le dicen ahorita, ¿verdad?, este, eran las casas que les prestaban, lugar para que pusieran una casa y viviera la gente.**

In the excerpt that appears above, the indicated verbs have arbitrary subjects in that there is no previous mention of specific persons to which these verbs can refer. Although the final third person plural verb (**pusieran**) is grammatically incorrect in that it lacks agreement with its subject, the noun, **la gente**, which is found in sentence-final position, it is in agreement with the preceding indirect object pronoun **les**, and indicates the idea of indefiniteness. It is precisely the use of a collective noun indicating "people" that gives this final verb its $\mathbf{pro}_{arb}$ subject.

In English, pleonastic pronouns are considered redundant and defined as semantically empty. They appear in sentences such as "It is raining/It's a long way to drive/It's obvious that he's wrong/There must be some mistake/There walked into the room the ugliest man I had ever seen", where "it" and "there" are simply placeholders, devoid of meaning. In Spanish, they are nonexistent and are indicated simply by the

obligatory lack of an overt subject. The verb **haber** used in existential expressions ("There is/are") falls under this classification, thereby always requiring a null subject. The examples of structures containing pronouns of a pleonastic nature, including the various forms of **haber**, were correctly used by all respondents. This demonstrates that although four respondents (M12, M13, M20 and M21) accepted incorrect usage of this verb in the questionnaire, all of those who employed it during the interviews used it correctly.[37]

Subject-Verb Inversion in Declarative Sentences The final characteristic to be discussed is the occurrence of subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences. Therefore, inversions which were found in interrogative sentences were included neither in any count nor in the analysis. It was found that this trait occurs more often with nouns than with pronouns in the recordings of the monolingual informants. Instances of subjects in postverbal position involving potentially unaccusative verbs (i.e., **venir, ir, volver, regresar, salir, morir, fallecer, caer** and **entrar**) and verbs which occur in what appear to be contrastive constructions of the type **creo yo**, whose underlying subjects might be generated in postverbal position, have not been considered in the qualitative and quantitative analyses.

TABLE 4.10

SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION IN DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

	With Nouns	With Pronouns	Total Inversions
Mono (N=14)	77	39	116
SB (N=28)	75	81	156
BE (N=19)	34	22	56

The selections taken from the interviews of M7, M12 and M15 contain examples of true inverted subjects, some with pronouns and some with NPs. All postverbal subjects in the passage selected from M7's tape involve the same subject-verb combination (**tener/uno**). The instance of **sale uno** is not a case of subject-verb inversion, but of a subject generated in postverbal position due to an unaccusative verb (**salir**, "to go out, leave"), as is the case of **iba yo** (**ir**, "to go") in the description provided by M12.

M7: **Aquí sí no tiene uno en qué moverse, no sale uno. Y allá, pues, hay. Aquí hay, pero no es igual que allá en su rancho. ... Cuando se casó, eso fue lo que dicen en la iglesia, que tiene uno que ser dependiente de uno mismo. Pues tiene uno que salir adelante.**

M12: **Y así trabajaba yo en casa y después, este, como le digo, después empecé a trabajar así en la labor. Ya después de casada empecé a trabajar en una camaronera, que era de puro empacar camarón.**

Empacar. Allí está esa compañía muy grande en Brownsville. Y también iba yo para un puerto que le dicen, este, Puerto Chico, allí en Brownsville, donde bajan todos los barquitos del camarón. Y allí descabezaba yo.

M15: Pero a él lo crió el tío. Es el hermano mayor de los hombres. Pero él siempre ha vivido allá, toda su vida. Ya se casó. Fue la razón que nosotros nos íbanos (sic) para ese rumbo todo el tiempo, porque allá estaba él. No conocíamos para 'cá nosotros.

The analysis of the taped conversations indicates that in the typical speech of these Mexican monolinguals, the inversion of the verb and its subject is a strategy that all of them employ. Even though many of the inversions that appear on the surface can be attributed to those potentially unaccusative verbs and contrastive constructions previously mentioned, the analysis indicates that there is a corpus of data which is suggestive of true inversion. Therefore, it can be concluded that the process of subject-verb inversion in declarative statements remains quite productive within this monolingual speech community.

4.4.3.2 Spanish-dominant bilingual informants

All twenty-eight Spanish-dominant bilinguals who answered the questionnaire provided taped interviews. The analysis of the portions selected from the recordings yielded 4463 subject

tokens.[38] The average number of total subjects per respondent equals 159.[39]

Redundant Overt Pronouns The positions occupied by overt pronouns which may be optionally filled are the focus of this study. That is, those positions occupied by pronouns which refer to persons which may be either overt or null. The high percentage of pronouns referring to persons, whether overt or null, is probably attributable to the fact that the topics discussed by these informants, all of which were of a personal nature. As with the monolingual group of consultants, the overt pronoun most used was the first person singular **yo**, whose high frequency of occurrence is also due to the topics under discussion.

Because BS10 and BS11 had the highest incidence of redundant pronouns in this group, excerpts from the transcriptions of their recordings are reproduced below. In the description of her separation from her family, BS10 shared the following:

> **Sí, ya tenía los 18 años. Entonces me fui a mi papá. Yo fui, expliqué y le dije. Ese día se levantó y se fue. Dijo, "Si te vas, no vuelvas jamás a pisar en esta casa." Y yo pensé que era mejor. Yo(1) tenía que progresar. Yo quería salir de la labor. Esa no es vida para mí. Yo(*)[40] seguir todavía, yo(*) casarme, no. No quería seguir con mis hijos en la labor. Si yo(2) tenía que, de**

una manera, yo tenía que salirme de la labor. Era lo que yo(3) quería. Entonces, yo(4), como quiera, me voy.

In this small excerpt, the only overt pronoun present is the first person singular. However, not all instances are redundant; one of them (1) is used to clarify any ambiguity as to the identity of the subject which might be caused by the past imperfect tense verb form and three (2, 3 and 4) are employed for emphasis or contrast. Another two cases of the pronoun (*), which are not considered in the count, are employed with infinitives, in a construction similar to the English, "ME/I, continue still, ME/I get married, no way!" The instances which are considered redundant are those which do not show focus but merely continue the explanation of the thoughts being conveyed, and due to the verb form or other markers, cannot be mistaken.

In the excerpt below, BS11 recounts an experience she had while living in Chicago.

¿Sabes de qué me acuerdo? Yo me acuerdo tratando de hablar inglés. Y cuando vine fue un problemón hablar inglés. O sea, yo no me podía comunicar nada. Pero sí recordaba yo, me acuerdo una vez, que íbamos en el carro y me acuerdo que pasamos por un lago o, yo no sé qué era. El caso es que había agua. Me acuerdo que yo comenzaba a hablar palabras y me acuerdo que le dije a mi mamá "Look, Mom, it's a, it's a beautiful lake."

The only pronouns in evidence in the passage above are the five redundant occurrences of the first person singular. They are considered unnecessary because there is no change in subject, no apparent contrast or focus and the subject can easily be identified by the verb-final morphology, by the reflexive pronoun or the context. There are also an additional four null subjects which also refer to the same subject. This behavior indicates that although overt pronouns are numerous, their use is far from being categorical.

BS23 also exemplifies the pronominal usage patterns of the Spanish-dominant bilingual group. In the segment which follows, she discusses her mother's behavior upon the latter's return from an extended stay in the hospital for treatment of tuberculosis.

> **Sí, sí volvió. Estuvo como unos tres años. Ibanos (sic) a visitarla y luego volvió. Y como entonces estaba más libre, porque a mi mamá nunca le gustaba que yo(1) estuviera leyendo. Ella me tiraba los libros. Sí, me los tiraba y me prohibia que yo leyera. Pero yo(2) los escondía. Yo iba a la tienda, una tiendita, y los compraba y los escondia y los leía. Dos "magazines" leía yo cada semana. Pero los escondía yo. Y si me los hallaba, se enojaba conmigo y me los tiraba. Pero eso no me detenía a mí. Yo(3), como quiera, seguía leyendo. Bueno, ya cuando se fue ella, ya estaba yo más libre para yo[41] leer.**

In the prior paragraph, this informant provides three examples of necessary overt pronouns. The first occasion (1) is to clarify the subject of the dependent clause, whose identity is ambiguous due to the verb form, which could indicate a variety of persons. Examples (2) and (3) both indicate focus on the subject. (2) also serves to contrast the actions of the present subject (the speaker) with those of the previous subject (her mother). The overt pronouns which have been classified as redundant convey no new information, have an identity which is easily discernable from the context or morphosyntactic markers, and do not occupy a position of focus or contrast. In other words, they are truly optional.

In this group of respondents, BS43 had the lowest incidence of redundant pronoun production, with a total of three. Two of them appear in the following segment of her taped conversation where she discusses her father's family in Mexico.

> **Bueno, mi papá, él(1) es el que tiene sus familiares allá. <u>El</u> es el único de sus hermanos que, bueno su hermano, porque nomás tiene un hermano y una hermana y <u>él</u> es el único que se vino para este lugar. Y, este, sí tiene familia allá.**

The function of the first example (1) of an overt subject pronoun is one of focus. Having just been asked if her parents still had family in Mexico, she uses the pronoun to indicate that it is her father, not her mother, who has

relatives there. However, the identity of the subjects of the sentences which contain the two redundant pronouns could be easily ascertained from the context in which they appear.

Null Subjects The 2906 null subjects are placed into the categories previously used in the analysis of the monolingual speakers' transcripts.[42] The majority of these non-overt subjects (2270) fall into the category of subjects which are considered optionally null and the remaining positions (636) obligatorily contain no lexical material.

Personal (Optionally) Non-Overt Pronouns In the excerpts which follow, the null subjects referring to persons are indicated by ø in order to be easily located. Passages from the interviews of BS46 and BS3 were selected because the speech of these two respondents displays the lowest frequency of non-overt subjects while those of BS4 and BS13 were chosen because they show the highest usage thereof.

BS46 is a young man who was studying at the University of Houston at the time of the interview. In response to the suggestion that he speak about his parents, he shares the following:

> **Bueno, pues, ø son muy sencillos. Mi mamá es muy sencilla y muy, este, hogareña. Este, ø no trabaja. ø No sé. ø Se dedica a estar allí en la casa. Y mi papá, pos, se dedica a trabajar y con nosotros, a jugar béisbol cuando ø puede. También ø juega béisbol. También ø se dedica a lo mismo**

> que mi hermano, "central heating". Nomás que ø viene por temprano para agarrar dinero en el "income tax," y luego ø se va pa' México otra vez.

With the exception of the two instances where noun subjects appear, all subjects in this passage are instances of **pro**. The entire transcript of this individual's conversation contains only one overt pronoun (**yo**). Although he has not left Houston since his arrival, the fact that his parents and other family members spend quite a bit of time in Mexico may influence his speech pattern.

The passage selected from BS3's recording displays a blend of overt and non-overt pronouns as well as noun subjects.

> No, ø trabaja. ø Entra, ahorita ø está entrando a las siete y media para salir a las tres y media. Mientras están los estudiantes, porque ø limpian, pues, ellos salen, yo creo, ellos salen a las dos y media o una y media, por ahí, y ø tienen que limpiar después. Por eso, ø entra temprano, para limpiar antes y después. Los que se van, yo creo,... no ø sé exacto cómo ø hacen eso. Pero normalmente ø trabaja de diez y media a las quince para las siete.

Although there seems to be quite a number of null subjects within this excerpt, this is not the case throughout the interview.

BS4 had the highest rate of non-overt subject positions. Ninety of the ninety-seven null subjects fall into the optional category. In the following passage, this young man gives some insight into his mother's personality and their relationship.

> **Ø No sé. Ø No estoy seguro. O sea, yo y mi mamá, Ø no sé, no nos aguantamos allí en la casa porque, este, para unas cosas Ø sí es tímida y para otras no. Como cuando mi hermano no quería ir a la escuela, y Ø faltaba muchos días, Ø le llamábamos la atención. Y Ø decía, "No, no. El nene ya está grande." Y esto a los 14, 15 años de edad. Y Ø le digo, "Ø No sabes lo que Ø está haciendo."**

The overwhelming frequency with which **pro** is employed in this excerpt exemplifies the speech pattern of this respondent.

BS13 is the mother of one of the English-dominant bilinguals who participated in this study. She has two daughters, and in the segment of her recording presented below, she is discussing their childhood.

> **Y Ø decía, "Mira Ø, mamá, cómo andan esos niños. ¿Por qué no se sientan Ø?" Porque Ø íbamos, como Ø digo, a un "appointment" o algo y Ø las llevaba. Y yo decía "Siéntense Ø y estén Ø calladitas" y Ø se quedaban. Y, este, nunca Ø tuve problemas.**

Although this is only a short portion of a conversation, there are twelve subject positions to be filled, ten of which

contain **pro**. The use of non-overt pronouns causes no confusion to the listener.

Obligatory Non-Overt Subjects In Spanish, the position indicating arbitrary or indefinite subjects is filled by $\mathbf{pro}_{arb}$. Although $\mathbf{pro}_{arb}$ indicates human subjects, these null pronouns have been separated from those referring to specific persons due to the requirement that they be obligatorily null. As with the monolinguals, four respondents provided a large portion of the examples. Below are some of the examples produced by BS3, BS5, BS20 and BS41, the respondents who provided 40% of the tokens.

BS3: **Trabajo de reservacionista. Allí está muy bien. A ella le gusta porque nos dan descuentos y después del año con otras aerolíneas y también allí en Aeroméxico y todo. Nos dan descuentos. Nos dan vacaciones. Nos dan todo tipo de beneficios allí.**

BS5: **Aquí en Tejas no tienen, ahorita no tienen la ley si matas a alguien. Si el juez o el "jury", el jurado, si él dice que vas a, no tienen la opción, tienen la opción de que te van a matar o te van a mandar a la cárcel, pero tienes la oportunidad si te mandan a la cárcel que en 10 o 15 años te van a dejar ir.**

BS20: Y me da coraje con "La Raza", como dicen aquí. Porque por eso estamos por abajo. Porque no tratan de aprender el inglés. Que quieren cuando van a las clínicas y todo, que se les traduzca todo. De veras, si Ud. va a México, no le van a traducir nada. Tiene que hablar español.

BS41: Necesitaban voluntarios porque ya no tenían. Y, pues, yo me di de voluntaria porque, con tal que alguien me ayudara, porque eran muchos niños. Tuvieron que dividir. Yo creo que eran 45 de octubre a noviembre.

In the four segments provided, the third person plural verbs without overt subjects which have been indicated are examples of pro_{arb} due to the context in which they appear. The identity of the subjects in these cases are indefinite; they do not refer to a specific group of persons in any of the situations.

A small number of the subjects which must be null are found in structures equivalent to pleonastic pronouns in English. As with the monolinguals, all instances found in the speech of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, correctly lacked an overt pronoun.

Subject-Verb Inversion in Declarative Sentences Subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences in the speech of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals is the last characteristic which

is discussed in this section. The analysis indicates a decrease in the frequency of this structure from that displayed by the monolinguals. Once the subjects which are generated in postverbal position, either because of potentially unaccusative verbs or due to appearing in contrastive structures, are removed from all apparent instances of subject-verb inversion, there is an almost equal division between inversion involving nouns and pronouns. Since Respondents BS13, BS22 and BS23 were responsible for the highest production of postverbal pronouns, excerpts from their recordings are provided below.

BS13: **Y le decía yo, "A, no, aquí no va a haber golpes entre hermanas. Aquí la que va a pegar soy yo. Quién fue la primera que pegó del golpe? Pues, yo no quiero ..." Le dije, "Bueno, yo quiero, pero no me serviría yo, ..."**

The first and third of the above examples of BS13's use of subject-verb inversion are due to movement; the second indicates emphasis and is a required instance of both inversion and the overt pronoun (even if it had not been in postverbal position).

BS22: **Los muchachos, este, pos todo les ha servido porque ahora adonde quiera está la televisión.**

****

Y les digo yo, este, a mis hijos, que a mí es una cosa que mi padre nunca, y mi madre nunca nos acostumbró a eso. Andar, este, saliendo y que fuera y me quedara con mi esposo. Y regresa muy tranquilo y le digo yo que estoy ahora ya, este, en todas partes voy. Le digo que es mucha libertad que ellos mismos se dan.

BS22's usage of postverbal subjects is seen with both nouns and pronouns in the above paragraph. There are a number of additional examples of **digo yo**, none of which demonstrate emphasis or focus. They simply indicate the action of conveying information on the part of the speaker.

BS23: Dos "magazines" leía yo cada semana. Pero los escondía yo. Y si me los hallaba, se enojaba conmigo y me los tiraba. Pero eso no me detenía a mí. Yo, como quiera, seguía leyendo. Bueno, ya cuando se fue ella, ya estaba yo más libre para yo leer.

All postverbal subjects found in the transcription of the speech of BS23, regardless of whether they are the result of subject-verb inversion or generated in said position, are pronouns. In the segment appearing above, the three instances in which **yo** appears postverbally are examples of movement. However, **ella** is the subject of the verb **irse**, whose position is postverbal in deep structure.

The process of placing subjects postverbally remains productive within the Spanish-dominant bilingual population of Houston. However, there is a decrease in frequency from that demonstrated by the monolinguals which may be attributable to contact between Spanish and English. The fact that the latter does not permit inversion for any reason in declarative sentences and only allows placement of auxiliary verbs before the subject in interrogatives may influence the Spanish of these individuals.

4.4.3.3 English-dominant bilingual informants

Nineteen of the twenty-one English-dominant bilinguals in the sample agreed to have their speech recorded. The remaining two answered the questionnaire but never kept their appointments to tape the interview. The selected portions of the tapes provide a total of 2962 subject tokens.[43] The average number of total subjects per respondent equals 156.[44]

Redundant Overt Pronouns: Statistical Analysis A one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA, Microsoft EXCEL, Version 4.0) was used to analyze the frequency of use of redundant overt pronouns among the three groups under study. The results do not disprove the Null Hypothesis, suggesting that there is no significance between the monolingual usage and that of either of the bilingual groups. The ANOVA between monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals resulted in a $p = .459$, while the same test conducted between monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals resulted in a p-value of .633. The same is true

for correlations between the Spanish-dominant and English-dominant respondents, which also yielded a p-value that does not indicate significance (p = 212). The results achieved in the statistical tests on the data gleaned from the recorded interviews do not indicate the same situation as the statements of usage provided by all respondents on the questionnaire, where the figures yielded results of some significance between monolinguals and each of the bilingual samples, and correlation between the bilinguals was not significant (See Section 4.4.2.3 for those results.).

However, when Chi-square tests are used in the analysis of the data gleaned from the taped interviews, the results demonstrate that there is a significant difference in usage among the three populations under study (Chi-square = 12.86), with a significance level of <.01. When the same tests are run for monolinguals and each of the two bilingual groups, the results diverge, indicating significance between monolingual and Spanish-dominant bilingual usage at the <.001 level and between monolingual usage and usage of the two bilinguals groups together at a level of <.01. However, no significant correlation was observed in the comparison between monolingual usage and that of the English-dominant bilinguals (Chi-square = 3.49) or between the usage of the two bilingual populations (Chi-square = 0). These results seem to indicate that it is not the level of bilingualism that influences the increase in redundant pronouns, but bilingualism itself. In other words,

contrary to expectations, if there are any the effects of English on the increased appearance of redundant pronouns in the Spanish of the bilinguals, their level of ability in the former is not significant.

Discussion and Analysis There is value in the comparison of the number of redundant pronouns employed to the number of subject positions occupied by both overt and non-overt personal subjects. 29.0% of the possible subject positions in the speech of the monolinguals contain overt subject pronouns. Spanish-dominant bilinguals place overt personal pronouns in subject position 28.6% of the time and English-dominant bilinguals do so at a rate of 26.5%, where only 573 of the possible 2161 positions contain an overt pronoun. However, only 57.1% of the overt pronouns present in the speech of the monolingual sample are redundant. The usage drops to 54.1% in the recordings of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. The trend reverses as the slots occupied by redundant subject pronouns increase to 56.7% in the English-dominant bilingual sample.

TABLE 4.11

COMPARISON OF REDUNDANT PRONOUN USAGE

RECORDED INTERVIEWS

	Mono	SB	BE
	(N=14)	(N=28)	(N=19)
% Of All Subjects Are Overt PNs	29.0	28.6	26.5
% Of Overt PNs Are Redundant	57.1	54.1	56.7
% Red. Subj. PN	16.6	15.5	15.0

The most frequently employed redundant pronoun, as with the other groups, was the first person singular, **yo**, although no correlation can be attributed to the identity of the pronoun and the frequency of its appearance. In the English-dominant bilinguals, BE24, BE30, BE34 and BE38 were amongst those who displayed the most frequent usage. Extracts from their recordings appear below.

BE24 found it difficult to sustain lengthy monologues in Spanish and questions had to be posed in order to elicit speech in the target language.

SBS: **¿Quieres ser profesora bilingüe?**

BE24: **No, regular, pero yo sé que si yo tengo muchas oportunidades para hablar español, podría hablar más que ahorita.**

SBS: **Tu esposo es mejicano, ¿por qué no hablas español con él?**

BE24: Porque él(1) no habla. Un poquito, nomás con su mamá y es todo. Cuando estoy hablando español con él me, "he picks on me". Y cuando eso pasa, yo(2) no hablo nada, nomás inglés y es todo.

SBS: ¿Qué cursos te faltan para graduarte?

BE24: Tengo una clase en inglés que necesito. Es "Intro to Fiction" y cuando <u>yo</u> necesito, a, escribir papeles que otros me dicen, tengo un bloque en mi mente y no puedo escribir como <u>yo</u> quiero. Pero cuando hay temas que me gustan mucho puedo escribir libros.

Inasmuch as there are null subjects as well as redundant overt pronouns in the above excerpt, it is evident that the use of overt subjects is not obligatory for this respondent. The two overt pronouns (1 and 2) which are not redundant are employed for contrast and emphasis in the sentences in which they appear. The four instances of **yo** which are underscored are unnecessary since the identity of the subject is recoverable from the verb-final morphology and serve no syntactic nor discourse functions.

BE30 was able to function in Spanish better than the previous respondent, yet she required questions from time to time in order to continue the flow of the conversation.

SBS: ¿Te gustan tus sobrinos? ¿Cómo son?

BE30: **O sí. Son hermosas, bellísimas. Son tan, son muy inteligentes y yo creo que la razón es porque nosotros todos somos adultos. Y no tienen niños con quien jugar y nosotros no les hablamos en "baby talk". Hablamos así, como adultos, como a gente mayor. Y aprenden mucho, mucho.**

All four of the overt subject pronouns which appear in the paragraph are optional. They have been classified as redundant because they convey no new information, have an identity which is easily discernable from the context or morphosyntactic markers, and do not occupy a position of focus or contrast. In addition, the excerpt demonstrates that this respondent's use of overt pronouns exists in conjunction with the employment of null pronouns.

BE34's conversation is replete with overt subject pronouns, some necessary for various reasons, and some redundant. He spent some time discussing his grandparents' life after their arrival in Houston.

Y mi abuela, a ella le gustó mucho la escuela. <u>Ella</u> acabó la escuela, también aquí en Houston. Mi abuelo nunca acabó, pero él(*) también agarró su "GED". Porque <u>el</u> se fue pa' la guerra mundial. No sé por qué tanto tiempo duró, "you know", allá en la guerra, pero allá es donde agarró su "GED". Cuando vino p'atrás lo mandaron pa' la escuela. Y <u>él</u> estudió reparaciones de, de

televisión, televisión y radio. Porque él dijo que en ese tiempo eso era lo que estaba de moda. Apenas salieron y él se puso a estudiar aquí en la ciudad de Houston.

The only overt pronoun which is not redundant in this portion of BE34's transcribed conversation serves to emphasize the subject of that sentence. The rest of the pronouns present are truly optional, having an identity which is easily discernable from the context or morphosyntactic markers, not occupying a position of focus or contrast, nor conveying any new information.

When asked to recount a special incident, BE38 shared the following story regarding the beginning of her education in a Catholic school.

Fui yo a la escuela allí. Y los niños me contaban que yo(*) era diferente porque, por mi color de piel. Y ellos me decían, este, "brownie". No me gustaba eso. Entonces, entonces, un día, una tarde, yo vine llorando de escuela y fui al garaje y saqué un, este, una "can" de "paint", pintura blanca y quería pintarme blanca.

The three redundant pronominal subjects found in the passage recounted by BE38 are so classified due to the fact that the identity of the subject is easily identifiable through context and morphosyntactic markers. The remaining overt subject pronoun (*) is not redundant because it serves a contrastive function even though the subject could be discerned from the

possessive adjective located within the sentence-final prepositional phrase.

Null Subjects The same categories which were applied to the classification of null subjects in the transcriptions of the monolingual and Spanish-dominant bilingual recordings were applied to the analysis of the 1962 non-overt subjects of the English-dominant bilingual respondents.[45]

Personal (Optionally) Non-Overt Pronouns The majority of null subjects refer to specific persons as is the case with the speech of the groups previously analyzed. Although there is a steady increase in the use of optionally non-overt subject pronouns, the increase between categories of respondents is so small that it is statistically insignificant.

In the passages cited below, the null pronouns referring to specific persons are indicated by ø so that they can be easily located. Excerpts from BE12 and BE34 have been selected because these two respondents use non-overt pronouns of this type infrequently while BE19, BE14 and BE36 were chosen because they display the most frequent usage thereof.

BE12 is a young woman who was in her senior year at the University of Houston at the time of the interview. She had been asked to talk about her best friend when she said the following:

ø Tengo una, que ya ø somos amigas, ¿cuánto es? ... Es doce años. ø Nos criamos juntas y ella vive en Houston

y ella fue a Texas A&M. ø Somos "close", amigas intimas. Y ella trabaja en Clear Lake pero ø está también en una banda de "Rock and Roll". ø Se enseñó a tocar guitarra y "keyboard" y ella canta.

The combination of overt and null pronouns is an indication of BE12's ability to manipulate all types of subjects in Spanish. None of the positions which was found to contain **pro** is required to be null as is the case in some of the quantified sentences of the questionnaire.

BE34 was also a University of Houston student, whose memories regarding his grandparents appear below. The passage selected from his recording presents a blend of overt and non-overt pronouns, indicating the former's optional nature.

Es verdad. Mi abuela ya falleció. Ella hablaba nomás español. Ella no hablaba inglés. Ella me enseñó, pos, lo poquito que yo sé en español. Pos, con ella, pos, ø hablaba con ella cuando ø visitaba en el verano. ø Pasaba el verano, más o menos, con ella, ayudándole a ella en la casa, y a mis padres. Pero ø me enseñé más con ella. Mi abuelo, él, ø no me recuerdo mucho de mi abuelo porque él murió cuando yo tenía como, yo creo, como siete años. Sí, ø me recuerdo un poquito, pero él nomás hablaba en español también.

BE19, the husband of one of the Spanish-dominant bilingual informants, had the highest rate of null subject

positions. In the following passage, he gives some insight into why he was attracted to the young woman he married.

> **¿De ella? Le determinación, porque miré yo que iba ella a la escuela, que Ø quería ir a la escuela, que Ø estaba aprendiendo a hablar inglés, que Ø quería aprender inglés y que nada, bueno, que Ø no era como mi mamá. Ø No era bien simple y tímida. Ø No era como eso. Cuando ya Ø me hice más grande, Ø empecé a mirar la gente diferente, yo creo. Y cuando Ø estaba creciendo siempre Ø salía con bolillas y la gente allí en el pueblito.**

Most of the subject positions within the excerpt contain **pro**. It is evident from this representative portion of this respondent's speech, that he employs few overt pronouns, a majority of which are not redundant. This may be attributable to the fact that he speaks Spanish with his wife regularly, although not exclusively.

BE14, the daughter of respondent BS20, describes her fiancé in the short paragraph below.

> **Mm, pues, Ø es muy amable y muy inteligente. Ø Está estudiando ingeniería de computadoras. Y Ø es filipino. Ø Habla poquito porque Ø estudió español en secundaria. Pero su mamá sí puede hablar español. Y Ø quiere hablar español. Yo le pregunté si Ø podemos ir a México para "the honeymoon" ... la luna de miel.**

Although this passage is replete with **pro** subjects, it is not typical of the speech of BE14. Her conversation generally contains more overt pronouns than indicated above.

The final example of extensive use of non-overt subject pronouns from the English-dominant bilingual sample is BE36. She, too, talks about her fiancé and the history of their relationship. Although what follows is but a small portion of the conversation, it is typical of her speech pattern which contains an abundance of subject positions occupied by **pro**.

> **Ya completos, cuatro años. Pero Ø nos conocimos, pues Ø era mi novio en el sexto grado. So, Ø nos conocíamos. Pero eso fue en Brownsville, cuando Ø vivía en Brownsville. Y después Ø me moví a Dallas, a Garland, Texas y después a Houston. Y cuando Ø entré al "High School" y Ø tomé una clase de español, mi maestra era su tía. So, nunca nos separamos Ø.**

Obligatory Non-Overt Subjects In Spanish, the position denoting arbitrary or indefinite subjects is always occupied by $\textbf{pro}_{arb}$, and therefore, is always phonologically null. There is a steady decline in the use of $\textbf{pro}_{arb}$ between the monolingual, Spanish-dominant bilingual and English-dominant bilingual groups. Two informants (BE1 and BE39) are responsible for almost half of the total occurrences of $\textbf{pro}_{arb}$ in this group. Below are examples of some of the arbitrary subjects which were found in the recordings of BE1 and BE39.

BE1: Me gusta mucho, pues, enseñar lo que me han enseñado.

****

Y no conozco la casa de mi tío. Dicen que está muy grande. Mi tío es ingeniero y dicen que tiene una casa de tres niveles y que está muy bonita.

****

Cuando vuelva de vacaciones me van a entrenar para ser mesera. "I'm a head hostess", o sea que yo estoy encargada de las otras y me dan $10.00 más por si me toca para esa noche. Y también me dan $10.00 si entreno a alguien.

BE39: Veo en el periódico qué dicen en los trabajos, los trabajos como yo quiero, trabajo de secretaria. Dicen que necesitan "bilingual". Pienso yo. Y mi mamá me dice, "Mira, quieren. Es trabajo que tú puedes agarrar porque tú hablas español y inglés. Y es lo que querían, alguien que hablaba inglés y español. Decían que tenían muchas personas que necesitan ayuda y necesitan venir aquí. Querían alguien que hablaba español y inglés.

The indicated third person plural verb forms without an accompanying overt subject are classified as having an arbitrary subject because, within the context in which they

appear, there is no referent available to provide specificity. These non-overt subjects refer to that amorphous entity, "they". The speaker in each case is alluding to any number of indefinite persons which fit the characteristics or situation being described.

The English-dominant bilingual respondents employ structures equivalent to pleonastic pronouns less frequently than either the Spanish-dominant bilingual or the monolingual respondents. All examples fitting this category were correctly used, always lacking an overt pronoun.

Subject-Verb Inversion in Declarative Sentences: Statistical Analysis The ANOVA was again used to analyze the employment of subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences among the three sample populations. The results rejected the Null Hypothesis, showing that as English ability increased, the placement of subjects in postverbal position decreased. The ANOVAs provided values of $p=.032$ between monolingual and Spanish-dominant bilingual usage, $p=.0009$ between monolingual and English-dominant bilingual usage, and $p=.016$ between the usage of the two groups of bilinguals. These figures allow us to conclude that this trait may indeed be linked to increased ability in English. However, when only optional overt pronouns are considered, the results of the comparison of usage for monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals yielded results which do not reject the Null Hypothesis ($p=.407$); yet the opposite holds true in the comparison between monolinguals

and English-dominant bilinguals (p=.0006) and between the two samples of bilinguals (p=.003). A similar situation is reflected when nouns are considered separately. In this case, the lack of significance is demonstrated between the two sets of bilinguals (p=.799), but statistical relevance is shown when the monolingual noun-verb inversions are compared to those of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals (p=.018) and English-dominant bilinguals (p=.022).

The Chi-square tests performed on the total number of inversions (both nouns and pronouns), demonstrate that there is a significant difference in usage among the three populations under study (Chi-square = 60.54; significance level of .001). When the same tests are run for monolinguals and each of the two bilingual groups and for the two bilinguals groups against each other, the results hold and the significance level remains at .001. Chi-square = 16.19 for the usage of monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals; 54.92 for that of monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals; 20.48 for the two levels of bilingualism; and 30.52 for the monolinguals and the two bilingual groups together. When the nouns and pronouns are separated and the same tests run, the results are the same; all of them show a significance level of <.001. The Chi-square for nouns only = 17.79 for the usage of monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals; 38.16 for that of monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals; 36.08 for the two levels of bilingualism;

and 25.64 for the monolinguals and the two bilingual groups together. When the usage of the three groups is considered, the Chi-square = 35.07, significant at the .001 level. For pronouns, the Chi-square = 39.98 for the usage of all three groups; 12.33 for the usage of monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals; 18.97 for that of monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals; 20.87 for the two levels of bilingualism; and 15.14 for the monolinguals and the two bilingual groups together. All these figures show significance at the .001 level.

Discussion and Analysis Only 56 instances of postverbal subjects due to movement were found in declarative sentences in the speech of the English-dominant bilinguals.[46] Instances of subject-verb inversion due to potentially unaccusative verbs or contrastive constructions (generally associated with expressions such as **creo yo**) were not considered in the analysis which indicates a further decline in the use of this strategy. These optional inversions -- of both nouns and pronouns -- account for 20.1% of all overt subjects in the monolingual recordings; 13.7% in those of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals; and 7.4% in those produced by the English-dominant bilingual respondents.

Almost 50% of the examples of subject-verb inversion are found in the transcribed speech of respondents BE6, and BE37. Examples from their recordings follow.

BE6: Me fui a vivir en Corpus Christi, al colegio ahí. Y fue la primera vez que estuve yo sola, que mis papás no me podían estar vigilando 24 horas al día. Todo era diferente a cómo estaba yo en la casa. Estábamos todas muy protegidas y en Corpus, eran todos muy, se me hacía que estaban un poquito locos.

Although the four instances of postverbal subjects are evenly divided between nouns and pronouns, all of them are due to movement since they are cannot be considered contrastive constructions.

BE37: Mucha gente cree que no puede estar contento uno cuando se casa muy joven. El tenía 18 y yo tenía 19 cuando nos casamos. Y, pero, "you know", se impone la gente, que no estaba nada mal, que está la gente así, que abre los ojos.

****

Parece que cuando llegué yo a trabajar allí de asistente, de repente más creció Arte Público. Se abrió y, creo, la gente abrió los ojos a la literatura hispana porque ya sabe que es bien duro aquí. La gente mira los libros. Que conoce que hay, que sí, sí hay libros. Y eso es pa' lo que estoy yo, pa' vender los libros a otra gente. Y que mire la gente los libros. Que sí tenemos.

BE37 was the member of this group of respondents who employed the greatest number of inverted subjects. The analysis indicates that more nouns than pronouns appeared postverbally, as indicated above. The two examples of subjects in postverbal position that are not underscored indicate subjects generated in that location due to the nature of the verb involved.

Even within the English-dominant bilingual sample, the process of placing subjects postverbally remains productive. However, inverted subjects -- both nouns and pronouns -- constitute a much smaller portion of their subject production (7.4%) as compared to either the monolinguals or the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. It may be that subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences is in the process of disappearing from the speech of the less fluent Mexican/Mexican-American population of Houston. The continued decline in productivity within the English-dominant bilingual sample indicates a trend, begun in the Spanish-dominant bilingual group, which points to English influence on the Spanish of the bilingual population of Houston. Based on the statistical significance tests which were carried out, the attrition of this process can be attributed to the influence of English. This is the only one of the studied characteristics generally associated with the **Pro**-drop Parameter that has borne out the hypothesis postulated at the onset of the project.

4.4.4 Summary of Statistical Data

4.4.4.1 Written questionnaires--redundant pronouns

TABLE 4.12

COMPARISON OF JUDGMENTS

	Without Adjustments		With Adjustments	
	ANOVA F	p-Value	ANOVA F	p-Value
All Questions				
Mono/BS/BE	0.722	.491	0.343	.711
Mono/BS	0.623	.436	0.005	.984
Mono/BE	0.169	.683	0.967	.333
BS/BE	1.071	.309	0.378	.543
Mono/BS&BE	0.094	.761	0.233	.632
Quantified Questions Only				
Mono/BS/BE	0.231	.796	0.505	.613
Mono/BS	0.050	.826	0.001	.975
Mono/BE	0.387	.548	0.905	.364
BS/BE	0.359	.562	0.318	.585
Mono/BS&BE	0.009	.924	0.291	.597

Number of Respondents:

Mono = 12; BS = 14; BE = 15

TABLE 4.13

COMPARISON OF USAGE

	ANOVA F	p-Value
All Questions		
Mono/BS/BE	5.927	.005
Mono/BS	9.218	.005
Mono/BE	10.356	.003
BS/BE	0.130	.721
Mono/BS&BE	11.550	.001

Number of Respondents:

Mono = 12; BS = 14; BE = 15

4.4.4.2 Written questionnaires--subject-verb inversion

TABLE 4.14

COMPARISON OF JUDGMENTS

	Without Adjustments		With Adjustments			
	ANOVA F	p-Val.	ANOVA F	p-Val.	Chi^2	p-Value
Mono/BS/BE	3.371	.069	4.257	.040	15.76	.001
Mono/BS	5.675	.044	0.331	.580	7.81	.01
Mono/BE	5.322	.049	5.208	.051	4.60	.05
BS/BE	0.811	.394	6.697	.032	2.17	-
Mono/BS&BE	5.561	.035	0.599	.525	14.51	.001

Number of Respondents:

Mono = 12; BS = 14; BE = 15

TABLE 4.15

COMPARISON OF USAGE

	ANOVA F	p-Value
Mono/BS/BE	3.912	.049
Mono/BS	4.622	.063
Mono/BE	8.394	.019
BS/BE	0.013	.910
Mono/BS&BE	8.445	.012

Number of Respondents:

Mono = 12; BS = 14; BE = 15

4.4.4.3 Recorded interviews--redundant pronouns

TABLE 4.16

COMPARISON OF USAGE

	ANOVA F	p-Value	Chi-Sqare	p-Value
Mono/BS/BE	0.942	.396	12.86	.01
Mono/BS	0.057	.460	12.12	.001
Mono/BE	0.231	.634	3.49	-
BS/BE	1.600	.212	0	-
Mono/BS&BE	1.360	.265	10.39	.01

Number of Respondents:

Mono = 14; BS = 28; BE = 19

4.4.4.4 Recorded interviews--subject-verb inversion

TABLE 4.17

COMPARISON OF USAGE

	ANOVA F	p-Value	Chi-Square	p-Value
All Inversions--Noun and Pronoun				
Mono/BS/BE	8.108	.001	60.54	.001
Mono/BS	4.930	.032	16.19	.001
Mono/BE	13.500	.001	54.92	.001
BS/BE	6.300	.015	20.48	.001
Mono/BS&BE	10.897	.0016	30.52	.001
Noun Inversions				
Mono/BS/BE	3.930	.025	35.07	.001
Mono/BS	6.049	.018	17.79	.001
Mono/BE	5.838	.022	38.16	.001
BS/BE	0.066	.799	36.08	.001
Mono/BS&BE	7.949	.006	25.64	.001
Pronoun Inversions				
Mono/BS/BE	7.740	.001	39.98	.001
Mono/BS	0.701	.407	12.33	.001
Mono/BE	14.777	.001	18.97	.001
BS/BE	10.045	.003	20.87	.001
Mono/BS&BE	4.237	.044	15.14	.001

Number of Respondents:

Mono = 14; BS = 28; BE = 19

4.4.4.5 Recorded interviews--null pronouns

TABLE 4.18

COMPARISON OF USAGE

	ANOVA F	p-Value
Mono/BS/BE	0.627	.538
Mono/BS	0.413	.524
Mono/BE	1.239	.274
BS/BE	0.384	.538
Mono/BS&BE	0.913	.343

Number of Respondents:

Mono = 14; BS = 28; BE = 19

4.5 Notes

1. According to Y. Solé (1987), one-third of the Spanish-speaking population in the United States resides in three U.S. cities and their surrounding areas: Los Angeles, New York and Miami. However, when the population is distributed by state, California (31%) remains first, followed by Texas (20%) and New York (11%).

2. There are 22,354,000 people of Hispanic origin in the U.S. Of these, 4,340,000 can be found in Texas. Of the 13,496,000 people of Mexican origin in the U.S., 3,891,000 reside in Texas (U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract: 1993).

3. Of the 4,340,000 Hispanics living in Texas, 3,891,000 are of Mexican origin (U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract: 1993).

4. Mexican immigration to Houston since before 1950 has shown a steady increase:

Before 1950	6,321
1950-1959	8,176
1960-1964	5,689
1965-1969	10,288
1970-1974	25,178
1975-1980	40,066
Total	93,718

(Table 185, 1980 Census of Population, Part 45)

5. The foreign-born Hispanic population of Harris County, in which Houston is found, was 246,199 in 1990. Therefore, Houston provided 76.1% of this population (Table 139, 1990 Census of Population, Section 1 of 3).

6. The figures for Harris County include 634,648 persons of Hispanic origin, regardless of race. 515,186 of them were of Mexican descent (Table 6, 1990 Census of Population, Part 45).

7. This definition implies that Spanish-dominant bilinguals and second generation speakers are the same. Although this may not be the case in other studies, the population sample in this study does bear out this assertion.

8. Labov (1972:92) suggests using the "danger of death" question in an attempt to minimize the Observer's Paradox. This procedure was set aside in favor of allowing the informants to narrate any events or discuss any topics with which they were either comfortable or knowledgeable.

9. For a complete copy of the three questionnaires, see the Appendix.

10. Standard usage of word order/subject-verb inversion is explained in texts such as Tarr, Centeno and Lloyd's A Graded Spanish Review Grammar where time is taken to describe under which circumstances subjects and verbs are inverted in the dependent clauses of declarative sentences and other contexts in which this is acceptable.

11. Fourteen of the eighteen textbooks I inspected, all of which are presently used in elementary Spanish college courses as well as courses in advanced grammar and grammar review contain either sections dedicated to the use or omission of

subject pronouns in Spanish or provide explanations of pronominal usage in a section dedicated to subject pronouns. The most used textbook for first year Spanish courses is Knorre, Dorwick, Van Patten & Villareal's Puntos de Partida, now in its fourth edition. Chapter 3 (pg. 96 in the 3rd edition) contains a section titled "Use and Omission of Subject Pronouns" in which the authors explain that "In English, a verb must have an expressed subject (a noun or pronoun):**he/she/the train returns.** In Spanish, however, as you have probably noticed, an expressed subject is not required. Verbs are accompanied by a subject pronoun only for clarification, emphasis, or contrast." Explanations of each of the situations with examples follow. Similar sections and explanations are found, whether a traditional (Chapter 1, Section 5 of Pasajes by Bretz, Dvorak & Kirschner, Grammar Unit II, Section 5 of Español, Curso Primero by Holton & Gómez-Estrada), the more popular proficiency/competency (Puntos de Partida (already quoted), "En Preparación 2, Paso 2, Section 2.2 of Dímelo tú by Samaniego, et al., pages 12-14, 25-26, 47-48, and 115 in Dos Mundos by Terrell, et al.) or a conversational (Lección 1, Sección II in Charlando by Strandnes Inman) approach to teaching the language is taken. The above texts, and others inspected, which by no means comprise an exhaustive list of available textbooks, all include specific references to the "general" use and omission of subject pronouns.

The same is true of textbooks designed to either review basic grammar or explain the more subtle intricacies of the language in the "Advanced Grammar Courses" generally reserved for Spanish or bilingual education majors. Brod & Brady's Viajemos 2001, Repaso y Progreso, reviews the subject pronouns and their uses in its preliminary chapter (pages 20-21). Ramsey & Spaulding's A Textbook of Modern Spanish devotes Chapter III to personal pronouns, in which one finds detailed explanations of the use of all personal pronouns, not just those found in subject position. Español: Ampliación y repaso authored by Solé & Solé includes the forms of the subject pronouns, together with details of their use and an explanation of the lack of "it" in Spanish, as well as the differences between the various second person pronominal forms and their uses. Section 39, found in Chapter 3 of A Graded Spanish Review Grammar by Tarr, Centeno & Lloyd explains the use/omission of subject pronouns.

These textbooks demonstrate that the rules for the insertion and omission of overt subject pronouns are standardized and taught to students of Spanish, whether non-native or bilingual. Based on the above information and my personal experience in the classroom and that of colleagues, I believe that it is not unreasonable to compare the performance of the individuals who participated in this investigations to standards taught to and expected in the performance from those attending college courses in Spanish.

12. Only thirteen of these informants offered English translations of the Spanish sentences. For some unknown reason, BS18 did not fill out this portion of the questionnaire.

13. Respondent BS5 changed the sentence by changing the verb form to **fuistes**, an incorrect yet commonly used form, as well as substituting **en** for the preposition **por**.

14. BE29 easily corrected the item by placing **tú** after the verb: **Paco, ¿fuiste tú a la tienda ayer por la tarde?**

15. This variation in vocabulary was also employed by respondent BS5 when he corrected this item.

16. Although there was a twelfth individual (BS5) who labeled the sentence incorrect, his problem stemmed from the subject-verb inversion in the first sentence. He resolved it by reversing the order and retaining both subject pronouns.

17. All the sentences in this group are considered grammatical by prescriptive standards as long as the subject and following pronoun have disjoint reference. In the same environment, single reference is accomplished by the absence of the pronoun.

18. While BE39 retained the one provided (**Bueno, chicos, ¿quién va a decirle a Paco que él manejó su carro?**), it can only be assumed that BE33 must have misread the verb and interpreted it as <u>first person present</u> tense rather than <u>third person preterite</u> since he inserted the pronoun **yo** immediately before the verb (thereby creating an incorrect sentence).

19. Because a number of respondents in this group displayed problems other than with the trait under consideration, ANOVAs were calculated both including and excluding the responses of these two individuals.

20. Some respondents considered sentences ungrammatical but not for the reason being investigated. When this occurred,

statistical significance tests were conducted with and without adjustments for the basis of the judgment.

21. She also changed the verb tense from present perfect to preterite. Thus, the sentences she would say are:

(4) **Los invitados ya salieron.**
(10) **Mis amigos ya llegaron.**

22. The present perfect tense seems to be the cause of negative grammaticality judgments for most of these Mexican informants, regardless of the level of proficiency. The respondents' reticence to identify any of these sentences as grammatical, regardless of its other components, can be attributed to the present perfect tense and not to the characteristic under scrutiny.

23. This trend can be correlated with some of the work done by Silva-Corvalán (1989, 1994). She observed that in the Spanish of Los Angeles, perfect tenses are disappearing even among many Spanish-dominant bilinguals, as opposed to those who have rigorously learned the tenses in classrooms. This seems to be the case within the bilingual Mexican-American population of Houston.

24. BE7's corrected sentence showed that her problem arose from the verb **telefoneó**, rather than from its position with relation to the subject, **mi novio**. The result of her efforts was the statement: **Me marcó mi novio para preguntármelo.**

25. The sentences provided by these three participants follow.

BE6: **Llamaré a mi novio por teléfono para preguntárselo.**
BE34: **Yo hablé a mi novio por el teléfono para preguntármelo.**
BE40: **Llamé por teléfono a mi novia.**

BE34 supplied an ungrammatical sentence even though he was attempting to correct the original one.

26. The noun **principiantes** was either unknown to, or unused by, a number of the respondents.

27. Although BE17 did not provide grammaticality judgements or usage data for the Spanish sentences, she did provide grammaticality judgments as well as translations of the English sentences contained in the questionnaire.

28. The corrected versions of the sentence are:

BS13: They say it will rain.
BS20: They say it is going to rain.

29. Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994) observes some loss of the complementizer **que** in the Spanish of Los Angeles, which she is hesitant to attribute to contact with English. However, this data hints that bilingual transfer from English may be responsible and that complementizer deletion is no longer optional for many English speakers.

30. Based on the three corrections presented for Question 4, it is also evident that there is no confusion regarding the expletive "it" as the subject of "is" in the dependent clause containing the weather expression. Thus, it can be stated with certainty that this group would have produced the same unanimous agreement had this sentence been placed in the section examining expletive pronouns.

31. A null subject in Spanish would give this sentence its arbitrary reading while the third person plural pronoun "they" or the indefinite "someone" would indicate a like meaning in English.

32. The sentences created by these two informants follow.

BS5: In winter Alaska is very cold.
BS42: The winters in Alaska are very cold.

33. Although BE32 provided a different sentence, the new version was also incorrect, and for the very same reason!

34. The audio cassette of a fifteenth monolingual respondent was damaged and was unintelligible at the time the transcriptions were made.

35. 363 of these items (18.7%) are noun subjects, 373 (19.2%) are pronouns, of which 213 are employed redundantly, and 1204 (62.1%) are non-overt subjects.

36. This figure can be broken down into the following components:

Nouns	25.9
Pronouns	26.6
Missing	86.0
Total	138.5

37. Two of the respondents, M20 and M21, who accepted incorrect sentences were not interviewed and only answered the written questionnaire.

38. There are 649 (14.5%) noun subjects, 908 (20.3%) pronouns, of which 490 are employed redundantly, and 2906 (65.1%) null subjects.

39. This figure can be broken down into the following components:

Nouns	23.2
Pronouns	32.4
Missing	103.8
Total	159.4

40. This instance of **yo** and the next are most definitely employed for emphasis. This is easily discernible on the tape from the raising of the respondent's voice.

41. This is another example of the use of a subject pronoun with an infinitive. Although it is employed for emphasis, it is redundant even in this capacity since the preceding inverted overt pronoun serves that function.

42. The missing subjects are categorized into those that are personal and those that are obligatorily missing which are divided into (1)non-human, (2)arbitrary and (3)pleonastic/expletive (which include the instances of the verb **haber**).

43. 427 (14.4%) of the subjects are nouns, 573 (19.3%) are overt pronouns of which 325 are redundant, and 1962 (66.2%) are null subjects.

44. This figure can be broken down into the following components:

Nouns	22.4
Pronouns	30.2
Missing	103.3
Total	155.9

45. The missing subjects are categorized into those that are personal and those that are obligatorily missing which are divided into (1)non-human, (2)arbitrary and (3)pleonastic/expletive (which include the instances of the verb **haber**).

46. However, BE7 and BE14 produced no sentences containing subject-verb inversion.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

Although studies of prolonged language contact have indicated changes effected by the superordinate language on the subordinate language, only a small number of them (E.G., Gutiérrez 1990; Lantolf 1983; Loa 1989; Ocampo 1990; and Silva-Corvalán 1994, 1989) have concerned themselves with subtle manifestations of syntactic transfer such as those investigated here. One of the observed differences between monolingual Spanish speakers and bilingual speakers of contact Spanish is that the former tend to avoid overt subject pronouns once the subject has been established within the discourse. According to the results of the present study, when overt pronouns are present under the aforementioned circumstances, monolinguals generally construe them as focused or stressed, while bilinguals, regardless of their level of Spanish proficiency treat them with no difference in spite of changes which may occur in the discourse context.

The possible absence of overt subjects (that is, the presence of null subject pronouns) together with subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences are two of the characteristics that have long been considered as inseparably

related manifestations of the "Pro-drop Parameter" which putatively accounts for a number of systematic syntactic differences between Spanish and English. The central goal of my study was to determine whether second- and third-generation Mexican-American bilinguals employ overt subject pronouns in situations where they are either completely absent from or infrequent in the speech of their monolingual counterparts and whether differing abilities in Spanish and/or English can be correlated with the frequency of overt redundant subject pronouns. Given that null subject pronouns and subject-verb inversion have been jointly implicated in claims of a unified "Pro-drop Parameter", my research project was designed and conducted in the hope of determining some of the ways in which the prolonged contact between Spanish and English has affected and continues to affect not only preverbal overt subject pronoun usage in the Spanish of these Mexican-American bilinguals but also placement of overt subjects in postverbal position in declarative sentences.

5.2 Summary

5.2.1 Overt/Non-Overt Subject Pronoun Usage

5.2.1.1 Redundant (overt) subject pronouns

The qualitative and quantitative results of the analyses are inconclusive regarding the resetting of a pro-drop parameter, but some observations can be made and inferences drawn about other aspects of contact-induced language change and the true identity of any parameter involved.

The ANOVA tests regarding the grammaticality judgments or acceptance of sentences with redundant pronouns found in the questionnaire support the Null Hypothesis, namely that there is no correlation between increased use of redundant overt subject pronouns and increased proficiency in English. However, this may be due to the fact that the test items were not presented within a discourse context. This situation made it impossible for the participants to make a definitive determination as to whether some of the quantified sentences were intended to have joint or disjoint reference. The English translations provided by the bilinguals did not help to clarify the situation since some of them are also ambiguous in English in the absence of an identifying context. In addition, the lack of context may have also affected test subjects' judgments regarding simple sentences, where context plays an important role in determining stress, focus and contrast which would require the presence of an overt pronoun.

The ANOVA test of the sentences with redundant overt pronouns produced during all of the recorded interviews provided similar results. They showed no correlation between increased use of redundant overt pronouns and (1)monolingualism and either level of bilingualism nor (2) between levels of bilingualism. However, the ANOVA of the responses as to whether the subject would actually say the questionnaire sentences or analogous ones yielded results which merit further consideration and discussion. These tests

resulted in the rejection of the Null Hypothesis when the differences between the monolinguals' use was considered in relation to that of the Spanish-dominant and the English-dominant bilinguals ($p=.004$ and $p=.003$, respectively). Yet the difference between the responses of the two groups of bilinguals again showed no significant relationship between increased ability in English and increased redundant pronominal production.

The Chi-square tests run on the interview data corroborate the results of the ANOVA tests. The three-tier array considering all the groups provided results which are significant at the .01 level of probability. When a two-tier array between monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals is used, the significance increases to the .001 level. Once again, there is no correlation between the two bilingual groups. These results seem to indicate that differences in usage become significant precisely when a second language is part of the speakers' cognitive repertoire, and not with increased proficiency in either language. Put another way, the analyses of the usage of redundant overt subject pronouns by these three groups of informants appear to show that it is the act of acquisition of English by Spanish-speakers which is the trigger that increases the appearance of these pronouns, as indicated by the positive correlation between monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals. Increased proficiency in English does not lead to an increase of overt pronominal usage

in optional environments, an assertion which appears to be supported by the test evidence regarding the linguistic behavior of the two bilingual samples.

5.2.1.2 Non-overt subject pronouns

Optional Null Pronouns In spite of the inconclusive data regarding the use of redundant overt subject pronouns, non-overt subject pronouns employed in environments in which they are not required to be null were generally accepted and employed by all respondents, regardless of their level of proficiency in Spanish. All the English-dominant bilingual informants rendered acceptability judgments in agreement with standard/prescriptive usage for the three probes on this characteristic of Pro-drop languages. Both the monolingual and Spanish-dominant bilingual respondents displayed unanimity regarding the acceptability of two of the three questions (Questions 2 and 6). However, two respondents in each of these groups deviated from prescriptive practice when they found the remaining sentence (Question 16) unacceptable. All four of the respondents achieved acceptability by changing the subject of the sentence, although none of them did so by inserting an overt subject of any kind; they simply changed the form of the verb and retained **pro** in subject position. The presence of the present perfect tense may have been responsible for the confusion concerning Question 16 inasmuch as it caused problems in other questions where it was used. The ANOVA tests conducted on these sentences did not reject

the Null Hypothesis, showing that acceptability does not change with the decrease/increase in Spanish/English ability. All the tests conducted on the usage figures of these sentences from the questionnaire yielded the same results as those on the production figures on the analyzed portions of the recorded interviews. Thus, according to the results of all analyses and tests, the contact between Spanish and English has had no effect whatsoever on the Spanish-speakers' acceptance and use of non-overt pronouns in syntactic environments where they are not required to be null.

Obligatory Null Subjects Obligatory null subjects fall into a variety of categories in Spanish. Among them can be found expletive subjects, arbitrary or indefinite subjects and those referring to non-human subjects. There are also situations where human subject pronouns must be null, as in some subjunctive structures and quantified sentences. The analyses of the questionnaires and recorded interviews indicate no correlation between knowledge of English or an increased proficiency in English and a decrease in the acceptance and use of obligatory null pronouns.

Question 22, which received unanimous positive grammaticality judgments from the members of all three groups of respondents, requires null subjects in both clauses; in the first clause because of its arbitrary nature and in the second clause due to its expletive subject (weather predicate). None of the respondents objected to this sentence and the taped

interviews of all three groups contain examples of both of these types of null subjects.

Question 15, which properly employed the verb **haber**, was accepted by all respondents except for one English-dominant bilingual whose source of confusion could not be determined. Question 27, which included an improperly placed **lo** before the verb, caused some consternation within both groups of bilingual respondents. One English-dominant and two Spanish-dominant bilinguals questioned the sentence, giving no indication as to the source of their inability to judge its acceptability. There was one respondent in each of the bilingual groups that accepted the sentence as grammatical, as did four of the monolinguals. Yet, when the tape recordings were studied, these null pronouns were properly employed in all cases by all respondents, regardless of their level of Spanish ability. Although no statistical tests were conducted on the use of arbitrary/indefinite and non-human subjects, the analysis of the recordings indicated proper use by all respondents in all situations in which they were found.

The statistical tests which were conducted corroborate the observations made during the qualitative analysis. The informants' grammaticality judgments and practice regarding null pronouns, appear to indicate that increased proficiency in English has no noticeable effect on the Spanish spoken by the groups under study.

5.2.2 Subject-Verb Inversion

The qualitative analysis performed on the grammaticality judgments of and the use responses to the questionnaire's sentences, as well as, the analysis of the sentences containing optional subject-verb inversion found in the transcribed portions of the recorded interviews demonstrate lower acceptability and use of postposed noun and pronoun subjects in declarative sentences as the respondents' proficiency in English increases.

Both ANOVA and Chi-square tests were conducted twice; once on the original and once on the adjusted responses to the five probes included in the questionnaire regarding subject-verb inversion. This was done to accommodate the fact that a number of respondents considered some the sentences incorrect for reasons other than the postposed subjects. The tests provided mixed results, which may be due to the small number of sentences and respondents involved. The one-way ANOVA used to determine the difference between the unadjusted judgments of the monolinguals and each of the two bilingual samples resulted in the rejection of the Null Hypothesis with p-values of .044 and .049, for the Spanish-dominant and English-dominant bilinguals, respectively. However, when the same test is conducted between the unadjusted responses of the two groups of bilinguals, the p-value shows no correlation. This is the same pattern obtained with the grammaticality judgments regarding redundant overt subject pronouns. The situation

changes when the judgments are adjusted for ungrammaticality ascribed to reasons other than subject-verb inversion. When this is taken into consideration, it is the correlation between monolinguals and Spanish-dominant bilinguals which has no significance. This time, the tests conducted between monolinguals and English-dominant bilinguals and the two sets of bilinguals show significance ($p=.05$ and .03, respectively). The ANOVA on usage patterned with the unadjusted responses, which I expected since perceived/adjudged ungrammaticality, for most of the respondents, leads to non-employment of the sentence. The Chi-square tests run on the unadjusted grammaticality judgments show significant correlations when the monolingual population is involved in the comparisons. When the tests are conducted between the data provided by the two bilingual groups, correlation dips below the level of significance. The same pattern is found when Chi-square tests are performed on the responses indicating usage of the same sentences, again exhibiting the same linguistic conduct found in relation to redundant pronominal usage.

Regardless of which statistical tests are considered, the results of the responses to the questionnaire appear to show that any ability in English diminishes the acceptability and use of sentences containing postposed subjects by the bilingual speakers participating in the study. These results corroborate those previously encountered in the redundant overt subject pronoun use within this population, which also

indicate a connection between the acquisition of a second language (English) and a change in the linguistic usage patterns exhibited in the first (Spanish).

However, when the same statistical tests were conducted on the transcribed portions of the recorded interviews they indicated significant correlations between subject-verb inversion and increased English proficiency. The Chi-square test was applied and the differences in usage were statistically significant at the .001 level of probability. The results from the one-way ANOVA rejected the Null Hypothesis regardless of the groups involved ($p=.032$ monolingual/Spanish-dominant bilingual usage; $p=.001$ monolingual/English-dominant bilingual usage; $p=.016$ Spanish-dominant/English-dominant bilingual usage).

The correlation between decreased usage of postposed subjects and increased proficiency in English found in the recorded conversations but not observed in the participants' responses to the questionnaire may due to the small number of items related to subject-verb inversion in the latter and to the fact that the sentences appeared in isolation, thereby lacking context. The data from the recorded interviews indicate that as proficiency in English increases, it leads to a decrease in the employment of optional postverbal subjects in declarative sentences. This trend is corroborated by the analyses of responses to individual sentences in the questionnaire. When considered jointly, not only do the data

provided by the monolinguals and bilingual participants indicate that there is a significant correlation between proficiency in English and overall use of subject-verb inversion, as evidenced by decreased production and acceptance of postverbal subjects in declarative sentences, but that an increased proficiency in English leads to an additional diminution in this structure's use.

5.3 Conclusions

Neither the questionnaire responses regarding acceptability and usage of isolated sentences containing redundant overt subject pronouns nor the production thereof in the taped interviews support my original hypothesis that the use of redundant overt subject pronouns increases in direct correlation to bilingual speakers' proficiency in English. The proposal that as the speaker's ability in Spanish diminishes and becomes more precarious, overt subject pronouns appear in greater numbers in contexts where monolingual Spanish speakers do not employ them (except in special circumstances) is rejected by the results of the investigation. However, the data appear to support a modified version, that is: Any level of proficiency in and prolonged contact with English by bilingual Spanish-speakers, increases the incidence of redundant overt subject pronouns in syntactic contexts where they do not as frequently appear in the speech of monolingual Spanish speakers. The differences between the levels of production of the redundant overt subject pronouns

of monolinguals and either of the bilingual samples is of enough statistical significance to support the revised hypothesis. Additional support for the revised hypothesis is provided by the qualitative analysis of both the sentences contained in the questionnaire and the speech samples contributed by the recorded interviews.

The statistical evidence also supports the hypothesis that acquisition of English by these Mexican speakers of Spanish negatively affects their choice of the subject-verb inversion option in Spanish declarative sentences. Furthermore, as the balance of bilingualism tips in favor of English, the decrease in the employment of optional postverbal subjects in Spanish, which was initiated with its acquisition, continues as the individual's proficiency increases in English and his/her ability in Spanish becomes more precarious.

The most innovative result of the present study is that the cause of the changes in the Spanish-language behavior of the speakers of both Spanish and English is apparently not related to the progression of additional English-language learning across the generations, but rather that acquisition of English is the primary source of syntactic modifications in Spanish. This proposal can be explained by the proposed definition of parameters; a parameter is a linguistic structure comparable to a switch which is either set to the "on" or the "off" position. In the present situation, I am referring to the **pro**-drop parameter which putatively includes

a number of superficially unrelated characteristics. In the case at hand, the acquisition of English acts as the trigger which affects the grammatical constraints governing these bilinguals' use of Spanish but that no parameter has, in fact, been reset. The fact that the change is not categorical in the case of either trait (redundant overt subject pronouns and subject-verb inversion) can be understood by applying the same explanation that has been previously employed in describing other contact-induced language changes (Appel & Muysken 1987; Labov 1982, 1972; Weinreich 1966; Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968). Change in a language is considered to begin when two forms which perform the same function exist in free variation. Over time, one of the forms generalizes across the language, encroaching on the domain(s) of the original form. If the process reaches completion, which is not always the case, one form is replaced by the other. Speakers do not abruptly cease using one form to begin using another. The circumstances presented by the linguistic situation which I have chosen to study indicate that English is the catalyst which provides the new form which, at present, is in free variation with the original form, thereby beginning the process. Additional, longitudinal studies are indicated in order to confirm the correctness and applicability of my analysis.

Furthermore, the results of my research provide empirical evidence to corroborate Safir's (1986) proposal that the so-called **Pro**-drop Parameter is not one parameter but two:

(1)the NOM-Drop Parameter (NDP) which incorporates the null subject property of Romance languages and (2)the Free-Inversion Parameter (FIP) which explains postverbal subjects. The Spanish of the Mexican-American bilinguals in this study seems to indicate that this must be the case. If both non-overt subjects and free inversion are part of the same parameter, both characteristics should behave in the same way in the language of the same speech community; that is, the (dis)appearance/increase/decrease of one should lead to the (dis)appearance/increase/decrease of the other, since, by definition, the term parameter denotes a cluster of interrelated properties which appear in a language. Neither a reduction of null subjects nor the appearance of overt yet unnecessary subjects occurs although there is a reduction of freely inverted (postverbal) subjects as the speakers' proficiency in English increases. In fact, the behavior of null subjects in the speech of <u>all</u> the individuals studied indicates quite the contrary; no significant change in the use of non-overt pronouns is experienced between any of the groups involved. In addition, although there is some significant change in the behavior of redundant overt subject pronouns, it is not equivalent to that of free inversion in the Spanish of the bilingual population. If these properties were, in fact, a single parameter, their linked behavior would be evident in the speech of the bilingual individuals. If both properties belong to the same parameter, they should both be at the same

stage of the change being effected in Spanish. The fact that there is a discernable difference between the two bilingual populations in terms of subject-verb inversion and not in terms of redundant/null subject pronouns shows that the traits are not interrelated, thereby providing evidence that there are two parameters involved.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Research

The inconclusive results of this study regarding the effect that the contact with English has had on the use of overt pronouns in preverbal subject position in the Spanish spoken by individuals of varying levels of proficiency within the bilingual Mexican-American population of Houston, Texas, suggest several options which would shed further light on the existing linguistic situation. Additional respondents in each of the three categories can be incorporated into the samples in order to see if an expanded database provides the needed correlations in support of the original hypothesis.

In terms of Spanish dialectology, the results from this project can be used in comparative studies of linguistic behavior to determine which characteristics are shared by the diverse speakers of Spanish across the world and which ones are unique to individual dialects in contact with English. In terms of language contact, these results can also be applied to comparative studies regarding the effects of English on the Spanish spoken by individuals whose language is as diverse as their ethnicity or country of origin.

The rather unexpected finding related to the apparent discomfort and lack of acceptability among the informants created by the present perfect tense provides an opportunity for additional work within the Mexican/Mexican-American Spanish-speaking community of Houston, Texas. This furnishes another opportunity for comparative work since Silva-Corvalán has already carried out similar research amongst the Mexicans of Los Angeles, California, and has found precisely the same thing.

Regardless of the path(s) followed, investigations such as those described above will add to the understanding of contact phenomena and expand the knowledge of the diverse dialects of Spanish in the United States. If work is continued in this field, the many varieties of Spanish spoken throughout the United States will succeed in achieving legitimacy.

APPENDIX I
PERSONAL INFORMATION SHEET

_____
Tape/Part. #

Hoja de Información Personal para Participantes Monolingües

Nombre: _____

Dirección: _____

_____

Teléfono: _____

Fecha de nacimiento: _____

Lugar de nacimiento: _____

Si no nació en los Estados Unidos, ¿a qué edad llegó?
_____

Lugar de nacimiento de su madre: _____

Si no nació en los Estados Unidos, ¿a qué edad llegó?
_____

Lugar de nacimiento de su padre: _____

Si no nació en los Estados Unidos, ¿a qué edad llegó?
_____

Nivel de educación formal en español (suyo):

primaria incompleta	_____
primaria completa	_____
secundaria incompleta	_____
secundaria completa	_____
instituto vocacional	_____
un poco de universidad	_____
universidad completa	_____
estudios graduados	_____

APPENDIX II
MONOLINGUAL WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Nombre: _____ Part. # _____

Fecha: _____

Juicios de gramaticalidad.

Los hablantes de una lengua desarrollan un "sentido" de lo que es una oración posible en la lengua, aún en casos donde nunca han aprendido una regla. En las siguientes páginas hay una lista de oraciones en español. Haga el favor de:

(1) leer las oraciones y corregir las que tengan errores gramaticales.
(2) indicar si considera la oración correcta pero no le parece natural, no le suena bien o es algo que Ud. no diría.

Lea cada oración cuidadosamente antes de juzgarla. Haga el favor de ignorar cualquier problema de ortografía o puntuación. Por favor indique solamente una respuesta para cada oración para cada categoría. Esté seguro/a de haber contestado TODAS las preguntas.

1. Si ella no deja de comer tantos postres, Carmen se pondrá muy gorda.
   (1)
   (2)

2. Vimos una película muy buena.
   (1)
   (2)

3. Algunas personas creen que ellas son muy inteligentes y ellas quieren asistir a la universidad.
   (1)
   (2)

4. Ya han salido los invitados.
   (1)
   (2)

5. Juan es mejor de lo que él piensa.
   (1)
   (2)

6. Creo que están llamando a la puerta.
   (1)
   (2)

7. ¿Has visto a Sarita y Rodrigo? Ellos son los primos de Carolina y ellos también son amigos míos.
   (1)
   (2)

8. Marisol y Andrés comieron en el restaurante porque tenían ellos hambre. Ahora ellos están cansados.
   (1)
   (2)

9. Bueno, chicos, ¿quién va a decir que él manejó el carro de Paco?
   (1)
   (2)

10. Ya han llegado mis amigos.
    (1)
    (2)

11. El profesor dice que cuando ella estudia, Anita no debe escuchar la radio.
    (1)
    (2)

12. Ellos dicen que ellos lo van a leer cuando ellos tengan tiempo.
    (1)
    (2)

13. Yo creo que soy muy inteligente.
    (1)
    (2)

14. Jaime está muy cansado. El ha dormido muy poco esta semana.
    (1)
    (2)

15. En la biblioteca hay unos libros de poesía para principiantes.
    (1)
    (2)

16. ¿Quién has dicho que va a llegar tarde?
(1)
(2)

17. Vinieron muchos estudiantes al principio de la presentación.
(1)
(2)

18. Juan se despidió de nosotros y él salió corriendo.
(1)
(2)

19. Paco, ¿tú fuiste a la tienda ayer por la tarde?
(1)
(2)

20. Miguel siempre llora cuando él se cae de la bicicleta.
(1)
(2)

21. Telefoneó mi novio para preguntármelo.
(1)
(2)

22. Dicen que va a llover.
(1)
(2)

23. ¿Quién dice que él estudia historia contigo?
(1)
(2)

24. A Elena la noté que ella bailaba muy bien.
(1)
(2)

25. Ya llamó mi madre a la profesora.
(1)
(2)

26. Jugaron las chicas por dos horas y nosotros tuvimos la oportunidad de descansar.
(1)
(2)

27. Lo hay varias películas buenas aquí.
(1)
(2)

28. Llegaron mis primos y ellos nos dieron los regalos del abuelo.
(1)
(2)

29. Ellas piensan que ellas siempre pueden decir lo que ellas quieren.
(1)
(2)

30. Y les digo yo a mis hijos que se porten bien.
(1)
(2)

BILINGUAL WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Nombre/Name: _____ Part. # _____

Fecha/Date: _____

I. Información personal. Por favor conteste las siguientes preguntas:
Personal information. Please answer the following questions:

¿Cuál es su lengua materna? What is your mother tongue?
_____

¿Qué lengua utiliza con más frecuencia? What language do you use more frequently? _____

¿En qué lengua se siente más cómodo/a? In which language do you feel more comfortable? _____

II. Juicios de gramaticalidad.

Los hablantes de una lengua desarrollan un "sentido" de lo que es una oración posible en la lengua, aún en casos donde nunca han aprendido una regla. En las siguientes páginas hay una lista de oraciones en español. Haga el favor de:

(1) leer las oraciones y corregir las que tengan errores gramaticales.
(2) indique cualquiera que considere correcta pero no le parece natural o no le suena bien
(3) indique si la oración le parece gramatical pero es algo que Ud. no diría
(4) traduzca las oraciones al inglés

Lea cada oración cuidadosamente antes de juzgarla. Haga el favor de ignorar cualquier problema de ortografía o puntuación. Por favor indique solamente una respuesta para cada oración para cada categoría. Esté seguro/a de haber contestado TODAS las preguntas.

Grammaticality judgments.
Speakers of a language seem to develop a "feel" for what is a possible sentence, even in the many cases where they have never been taught any particular rule. On the following pages is a list of sentences in Spanish. Please:

(1) read the sentences and correct those which have grammatical errors
(2) indicate any that you consider correct but do not seem natural or sound "right" to you
(3) indicate if the sentence is grammatical but is something which you yourself would not use

(4) translate the sentences into English

Read each sentence carefully before you answer. Concentrate on the structure of the sentence. Ignore any problems with spelling, punctuation, etc. Please mark only one answer for each sentence in each category. Make sure you have answered ALL sentences.

1. Si ella no deja de comer tantos postres, Carmen se pondrá como un tonel.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   (4)

2. Vimos una pelicula muy buena.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   (4)

3. Algunas personas creen que ellas son muy inteligentes y ellas quieren asistir a la universidad.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   (4)

4. Ya han salido los invitados.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   (4)

5. Juan es mejor de lo que él piensa.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   (4)

6. Creo que están llamando a la puerta.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   (4)

7. ¿Has visto a Sarita y Rodrigo? Ellos son los primos de Carolina y ellos también son amigos mios.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   (4)

8. Marisol y Andrés comieron en el restaurante porque tenían ellos hambre. Ahora ellos están cansados.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

9. Bueno, chicos, ¿quién va a decir que él manejó el carro de Paco?
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

10. Ya han llegado mis amigos.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

11. El profesor dice que cuando ella estudia, Anita no debe escuchar la radio.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

12. Ellos dicen que ellos lo van a leer cuando ellos tengan tiempo.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

13. Yo creo que soy muy inteligente.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

14. Jaime está muy cansado. El ha dormido muy poco esta semana.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

15. En la biblioteca hay unos libros de poesía para principiantes.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

16. ¿Quién has dicho que va a llegar tarde?
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

17. Vinieron muchos estudiantes al principio de la presentación.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

18. Juan se despidió de nosotros y él salió corriendo.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

19. Paco, ¿tú fuiste a la tienda ayer por la tarde?
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

20. Miguel siempre llora cuando él se cae de la bicicleta.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

21. Telefoneó mi novio para preguntármelo.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

22. Dicen que va a llover.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

23. ¿Quién dice que él estudia historia contigo?
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

24. A Elena la noté que ella bailaba muy bien.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

25. Ya llamó mi madre a la profesora.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

26. Jugaron las chicas por dos horas y nosotros tuvimos la oportunidad de descansar.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

27. Lo hay varias películas buenas aquí.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

28. Llegaron mis primos y ellos nos dieron los regalos del abuelo.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

29. Ellas piensan que ellas siempre pueden decir lo que ellas quieren.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

30. Y les digo yo a mis hijos que se porten bien.
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)

IIIA. Por favor (1)indique si las siguientes oraciones en inglés le parecen correctas, (2)si hay errores, corríjalos y (3)tradúzcalas al español.
Please (1)indicate if the following sentences in English are correct, (2)if there are errors, correct them, and (3)translate them into Spanish.

1. Watched a very bad movie last night.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

2. Mark is very tired. He has slept very little this week.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

3. John is better looking than he thinks.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

4. They say that it is going to rain.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

5. I think that are knocking at the door.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

6. Who have you said that is going to be late?
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

7. Who did you say had left? I didn't pay attention.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

8. Her I noticed that she danced very well.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

9. Already have arrived my friends.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

10. Is very cold in Alaska in winter.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

11. I am more intelligent than I think I am.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

12. They think that they always do whatever they want.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

13. It is very sunny at the beach.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

14. If he doesn't stop eating, John is going to get very fat.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

15. I telephoned my friends and are sick.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

16. Is a very large chalkboard in our Spanish class.
(1)(a) Correcta (b)Incorrecta
(2)
(3)

IIIB. Por favor traduzca el siguiente trozo al español. Escríbalo al revés de la página.

Please translate the following piece into Spanish. Write it on the back of this page.

Mark is happy today. He slept well last night and now it's his birthday. It's Friday and tonight there is a party at Suzie's house. He can hear his parents preparing breakfast in the kitchen. He goes down the stairs quickly. He eats breakfast and then Mark goes to school. In his Spanish class there is a large chalkboard on which the teacher has written the lesson. He sees there are ten books for beginners on the teacher's desk and several students are already sitting at their desks with them. Mark sees they are studying the lesson and he thinks that he should do the same so he takes a book and he tries to read it. He can't. He looks out the window and thinks that he can't do what he wants. At that moment Suzie comes into the room. She is prettier than she thinks. It is then that he realizes that he has fallen in love with her without knowing it! Suddenly he hears her saying, "Who did you say is coming to the party with you?" "No one," he replies, with a smile.

DOES THIS SOUND "NATURAL"?
Spanish Sentences

Spanish-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5		Q6		Q7		Q8		Q9		Q10	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BS5		O		O	X			O	X		X			O		O		O	X	
BS13	X			O	X		X			O		O		O		O		O		O
BS18		O		O	X			O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS20	X			O	X			O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS23		O		O		O	X			O		O		O		O		O		O
BS31		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS41	X			O	X			O	X		X			O	X		X			O
BS42	----------DID NOT ANSWER THIS PORTION----------																			
BS43		O		O		O	X			O	X			O	X			O	X	
BS44		O		O	X		X			O	X			O		O		O	X	
BS45	X			O	X		X			O	X			O	X		X			O
BS46		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS47	X			O	X		X			O	X			O		O		O		O
BS48		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O	X	

Respondent	Q11		Q12		Q13		Q14		Q15		Q16		Q17		Q18		Q19		Q20	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BS5		O	X			O		O		O		O		O	X			O		O
BS13		O	X			O	X			O		O		O	X		X			O
BS18	X		X			O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS20		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS23		O		O		O		O		O		O		O	X			O		O
BS31		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS41	X		X			O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS42	----------DID NOT ANSWER THIS PORTION----------																			
BS43		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS44	X		X			O		O		O	X			O	X			O		O
BS45	X		X			O		O		O		O		O	X			O	X	
BS46		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS47	X			O		O	X			O		O	X			O	X			O
BS48		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O

(Si=S; No=N; Ungrammatical=X)

DOES THIS SOUND "NATURAL"?
Spanish Sentences

Spanish-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q21		Q22		Q23		Q24		Q25		Q26		Q27		Q28		Q29		Q30	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BS5		O		O	X			O	X			O		O		O	X		X	
BS13		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS18		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O	X			O
BS20		O		O		O	X			O		O		O		O		O		O
BS23		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS31		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS41		O		O		O	X		X			O	X		X		X		X	
BS42	----------DID NOT ANSWER THIS PORTION----------																			
BS43	X			O		O		O	X			O	?			O		O		O
BS44	X			O		O	X		X			O	X			O	X		X	
BS45		O		O		O		O		O		O	X		X		X		X	
BS46		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O
BS47	X			O		O		O	X			O		O		O		O		O
BS48		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O		O

(Sí=S; No=N; Ungrammatical=X)

CORRECT TRANSLATION
Spanish Sentences

Spanish-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5		Q6		Q7		Q8		Q9		Q10	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	**S**	N
BS5	S		S			N	S		S			N		N	S		S		S	
BS13	**S**		S		S		S		S		S			N	S		S		S	
BS18	DID NOT TRANSLATE SENTENCES																			
BS20	S		S			N	S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS23	S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S			N		N
BS31		N	S		S		S			N	S		S		S			N	S	
BS41	**S**		S		S			N	S			N	S		S		S		S	
BS42	**S**		S		S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S	
BS43	S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS44	S		**S**			N	S		S		?		S			N	S		S	
BS45	S		S			N	S		S		?		S		S		S		S	
BS46	S		S		S		S		S			N	S			N		N	S	
BS47	**S**		S		S			N	S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS48	S		**S**		S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S	

Respondent	Q11		Q12		Q13		Q14		Q15		Q16		Q17		Q18		Q19		Q20	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BS5	S		S		S		S			N		N	S		S		S		S	
BS13	S			N	**S**		S			N	S			N	S		S		**S**	
BS18	DID NOT TRANSLATE SENTENCES																			
BS20	S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS23	S		S		S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S	
BS31	**S**		S		S		S			N	S		S			N	S		S	
BS41	S		S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S		S	
BS42	S			N	S		S		S		S			N	S			N	**S**	
BS43	**S**			N	**S**		S			N	S		S		S		S		S	
BS44	S		**S**		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS45	S		S		S		S			N	S			N	S		S		S	
BS46	S		S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S		S	
BS47	**S**			N	S		S		S		S		S		S			N	S	
BS48	**S**			N	S		S		S		S		S		S		S		**S**	

(**Sí**=S; **N**o=N)

CORRECT TRANSLATION
Spanish Sentences

Spanish-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q21		Q22		Q23		Q24		Q25		Q26		Q27		Q28		Q29		Q30	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	**S**	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	**S**	N
BS5		N	S		**S**			N	S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS13	**S**		S		S			N	S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS18	----------DID NOT TRANSLATE SENTENCES----------																			
BS20	S		S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S		S	
BS23		N	S			N		N	S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS31	**S**		S		S			N	S		S			N	S			N	S	
BS41	**S**		**S**		S			N	S		S			N	S		S		S	
BS42		N	S		S		S			N	S		S		S		S		S	
BS43	S		S		S			N	S		S			N	S		S		**S**	
BS44		N	**S**		**S**		**S**		S		S		S		S		S		S	
BS45	S		S		S			N	S		S		**S**		S		S		**S**	
BS46	S		S		S		S		S			N		N	S		S		S	
BS47		N	S		S			N	S		S			N	S		S			N
BS48	S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	

DOES THIS SOUND "NATURAL"?
Spanish Sentences

English-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5		Q6		Q7		Q8		Q9		Q10	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BE6		X	S			X	S		S			X		X		X	S		S	
BE7	S			N		X		X		X		X		X		X		X		X
BE12	S			N	S		S		S			X	S			X	S		S	
BE17	----------NO JUDGMENTS, TRANSLATIONS ONLY----------																			
BE27	S		S			X	S			X	S			X		X		X	S	
BE29		X	S		S			S		S		S		S		X	S		S	
BE32	S			X	S			N	S		S		S		S			N	S	
BE33		N		X	S		S		S		S		S		S			X	S	
BE34	S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
BE35		X	S		S			X	S		S			X	S			X	S	
BE36		X	S			N	S		S			N		N		N	S		S	
BE37	S		S			N	S		N		S		S			N	S		S	
BE38		N	S		S		S		S			X	S			X	S		S	
BE39		X		N		N	S		S			N		X		X		X	S	
BE40		X	S			X		X		N		X		X		X		X		X

Respondent	Q11		Q12		Q13		Q14		Q15		Q16		Q17		Q18		Q19		Q20	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BE6		X		X	S		S		S			N	S			X		X		X
BE7	S			X	S		S		S		S		S			X	S			X
BE12	S			N	S		S		S			X	S		S		S		S	
BE17	----------NO JUDGMENTS, TRANSLATIONS ONLY----------																			
BE27		X		X		X	S			S		S		S		X	S			X
BE29	S			X		X	S				N	S		X		X		X	S	
BE32	S		S		S		S		S			X	S		S		S			X
BE33	S		S			X	S		S		S		S			X	S		S	
BE34	S		S		S		S		S		S			N	S		S		S	
BE35	S			X	S			N		X	S			X	S		S		S	
BE36		X		N	S		S		S		S		S		S		S		S	
BE37		N	S		S		S		S			N		N		X	S		S	
BE38	S			N	S		S		S		S			X		X	S		S	
BE39	S		S		S		S			N	S		S			X		X	S	
BE40		X		X		X		X	S			X		X		N		X		X

(Sí=S; No=N; Ungrammatical=X)

DOES THIS SOUND "NATURAL"?
Spanish Sentences

English-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q21		Q22		Q23		Q24		Q25		Q26		Q27		Q28		Q29		Q30	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BE6		X	S			N		X		N		X		X		X		X		N
BE7		X	S		S			X	S		S			X		X		X		X
BE12	S		S		S			N		X	S			X		X	S			X
BE17	----------NO JUDGMENTS, TRANSLATIONS ONLY----------																			
BE27	S		S			X		X	S			S		X		X		X	S	
BE29		X	S		S			X	S			S			S		X	S		X
BE32		X	S		S			X	S			S		X	S			S		S
BE33	S		S		S		S			S		S		X	S			S		S
BE34		X	S		S		S			X	S			X	S			S		S
BE35	S		S		S			X		X	S			X	S			S		S
BE36	S		S		S			X	S			S		X		X	S			X
BE37		X	S		S		S		S			S		X	N			S		S
BE38	S		S		S		S		S			S		X	S			X		X
BE39		X	S		S			X	S			S		X	S			S		S
BE40		X	S		S			X		X		X		X		X		X		X

(Sí=S; No=N; Ungrammatical=X)

CORRECT TRANSLATION
Spanish Sentences

English-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5		Q6		Q7		Q8		Q9		Q10	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BE6	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE7	C		C			X	C		C			X	C		C		C		C	
BE12	C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C		C		C	
BE17	C		C			X		X		X	C		C			X		X	C	
BE27	C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C			X	C	
BE29	C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C		C			X
BE32	C		C		C			X	C		C		C		C			X	C	
BE33	C			X		X	C		C			X		X		X		X	C	
BE34	C		C			X		X	C		C		C		C			X	C	
BE35	C		C			X	C		C		C		C		C			X	C	
BE36	C		C		C			X	C			X	C		C		C		C	
BE37	C		C			X	C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE38	C		C		1/2		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE39	C		C			X	C		C			X	C		C			X	C	
BE40	C		C		C		C			X		X	C		C			X	C	

Respondent	Q11		Q12		Q13		Q14		Q15		Q16		Q17		Q18		Q19		Q20	
	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I
BE6	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE7	C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C			X	C	
BE12	C			X	C		C		C			X	C		C		C		C	
BE17		X		X	C		C			O		X		O		O	C		C	
BE27	C			X	C		C		C			X	C			X	C		C	
BE29	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE32	C		C		C		C		C			X		X	C			X		X
BE33		X		X	C		C			X		X	C		C			X	C	
BE34	C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C		C		C	
BE35		X	C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C		C	
BE36	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE37	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE38	C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C		C		C	
BE39		X	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE40	C			X	C		C		C			X	C			X	C		C	

(Correct=C; Incorrect=X; Not Trans=O)

CORRECT TRANSLATION
Spanish Sentences

English-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q21		Q22		Q23		Q24		Q25		Q26		Q27		Q28		Q29		Q30	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
BE6		X	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE7	C		C		C			X	C		C			X	C		C		C	
BE12	C		C		C			X	C		C			X	C		C		C	
BE17		X		X	C		O			X	C			X		X	C		C	
BE27	C			X	C			X		X	C		C			X	C			X
BE29	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE32		X	C		C			X		X		X	C		C		C		C	
BE33	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE34		X	C		C		C			X		X	C		C		C		C	
BE35	C			X	C		O		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE36	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE37	C		C		C		C		C		C			X	C		C		C	
BE38	C		C		C		O		C		C		C		C		C		C	
BE39	C		C		C		C		C		C			X		X		X	C	
BE40		X	C		C			X	C		C			X	C		C		C	

(Correct=C; Incorrect=X; Not Trans=O)

CORRECT TRANSLATION
English Sentences

Spanish-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5		Q6		Q7		Q8		Q9		Q10	
	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I
BS5	C		C			I		X		I		I		I	C			I		I
BS13	C		C		C		C			I		I		I	C		C			I
BS18	----------								NO TRANSLATION GIVEN											
BS20	C		C		C		C			I	C		C		C			X		I
BS23	C		C		C			I	C		C		C			I	C			I
BS31		I	C			I		I	C			I	C		C		C		C	
BS41	C		C			I	C			I	C		C		C		C			I
BS42	C		C			I	C		C		C		C		C		C			I
BS43	C		C			I	C			I		I	C		C		C			I
BS44	C		C		C			I		I		I	C		C		C		C	
BS45	C		C			I		I		I	C		C		C		C		C	
BS46	C			X		X		X		I		X		X	C		C			I
BS47	C			X	C		C			I			I	C		C	C			I
BS48	C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C		C			I

Respondent	Q11		Q12		Q13		Q14		Q15		Q16	
	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I
BS5		I	C		C		C		C		C	
BS13		I	C		C		C		C			I
BS18	----------								NO TRANSLATION GIVEN			
BS20	C			X	C		C		C		C	
BS23	C		C			I	C		C			I
BS31	C		C			I	C		C		C	
BS41		I	C			I	C		C			I
BS42	C		C			I	C		C			I
BS43		I	C			I	C		C		C	
BS44		I	C		C		C		C			
BS45		I	C			I	C		C			
BS46		X		X		X	C		C			
BS47		I	C			I	C			X		
BS48	C		C		C		C		C			

(C=Correct; I=Incorrect; X=Not Trans.)

CORRECT TRANSLATION
English Sentences

English-dominant Bilinguals

Respondent	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5		Q6		Q7		Q8		Q9		Q10	
	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I
BE6	C		C		C		C			I	C		C		C		C			I
BE7	C		C			I	C			I	C			I	C		C		C	
BE12	C		C			I		I		I	C			I	C		C			I
BE17		X			I		I		I			I	X			I	C			I
BE27			I	C			I	C		C		C		C		I	C			I
BE29	C			C			I		I		I	C		C		C		C		I
BE32	C			C			I	C			I		X		C		X		C	I
BE33	C			C			I		I		I	C		C			I		C	I
BE34		I		C			I		C			I		I		I	C			C
BE35	----------NO TRANSLATION INTO SPANISH----------																			
BE36	C			C		C		C			I	C		C		C			C	
BE37	C				I		C				I	C		C		C			C	
BE38	C			C		C			I	C		C			I	C		C		C
BE39		X		C			I		I		I		I		I	C		C		I
BE40	C			C			I	C			I		I	C			I	C		C

Respondent	Q11		Q12		Q13		Q14		Q15		Q16	
	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I
BE6	C		C			I	C		C			X
BE7		I	C			I		I		I	C	
BE12	C		C			I		X	C			X
BE17		I		I	C			I		I		X
BE27	C			X	C		C		C			I
BE29	C		C			I	C			I	C	
BE32		I	C			X	C		C			I
BE33		I	C			I	C			I		I
BE34		I		I		I	C		C			X
BE35	----------NO TRANSLATION INTO SPANISH----------											
BE36		I	C		C		C		C			
BE37		I	C			I	C		C			
BE38	C		C		C			C				
BE39		I		I		I	C		C			I
BE40		I	C		C		C		C			I

(C=Correct; I=Incorrect; X=No Trans)

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